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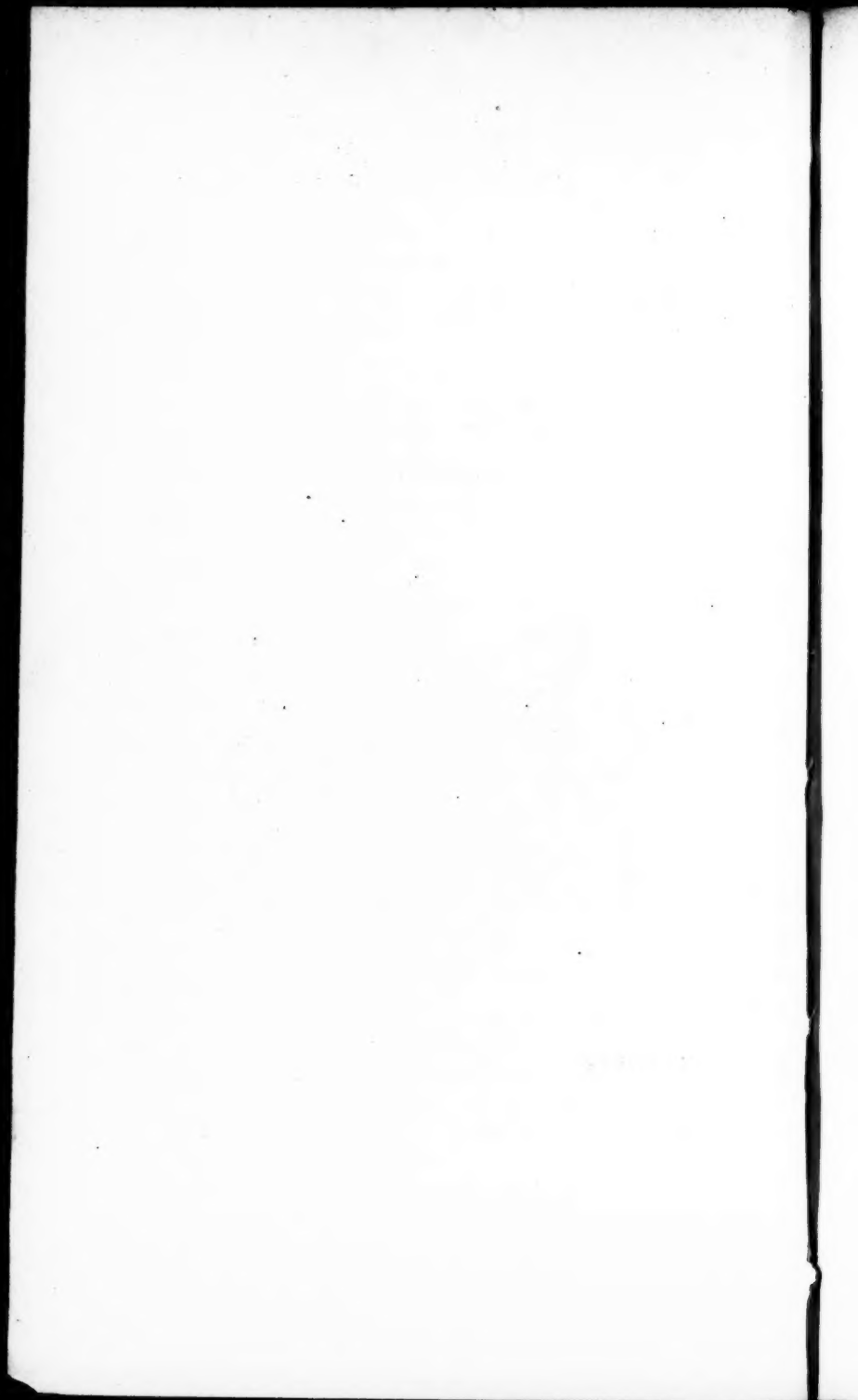
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- ART. I.—1. *A Charge delivered by the Lord Bishop of Chester.* 1841.
2. *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, on the Present State of the Church.* By HENRY, Lord Bishop of Exeter, 1851.

WE suppose that if ever there was a day when its warmest supporters were bold enough to deny that the Anglican Church was "a house divided against itself," that day has long since passed away. Each of the publications, the titles of which stand prefixed to the following pages, is a standing proof of this fact. Each of the two great factions, (to say nothing of lesser subdivisions,) into which the Establishment is divided, avow it and lament it in the plainest terms. To use the happy phrase of Bishop Philpotts, it is no longer a 'logomachy' which ranges men now as leaders of opposing parties in the English Communion; it is nothing less than a very war of *principles*, a vital conflict of opinion as to the *primary truths* of the Christian faith and revelation, which keeps them asunder. These rival principles, struggling as they are for victory in the heart of a communion whose main end and object is the reduction of objective truth to mere subjectivity, the softening down of all unpalatable asperities in Creeds, and the fusing of them in one harmonious whole of comprehensive negation, happily seem, now at least, far beyond any chance of reconciliation. When the Bishops of that communion who, for the most part, have maintained a calm and dignified silence amid the strife of tongues, and

have lived, like the Epicurean deities of old, a life unruffled by the concerns of this lower world—when its Bishops take up the arms which have hitherto been wielded by their Presbyters alone, and enter the lists as champions of two rival and antagonist systems, it needs not any great amount of skill in divination to prophecy the speedy downfall of the Establishment of which they are at once the strength and the weakness. For we have, on this head, to guide us, not merely common sense, but the plain axiom of Holy Scripture, which warns us, that “a house divided against itself must fall.”

For ourselves, we suppose that most men, in their boyish days, have been wont to associate the name of “Pastorals” with all that is peaceful and contented in that happy rustic life which poets have sung from the days of Theocritus and Virgil. And we suppose that when they grew older, and found out by experience that all was not gold which glittered in their utopian state of bliss, they reluctantly gave up all idea of a Bishop acting as the wise and gentle shepherd of an united flock; and found out that by a “Pastoral” was meant an Anglican Bishop’s controversial letter to his Clergy. But it has been left for them now in these days to attach a far stronger meaning to the word; and we think that if any unprejudiced person will “read, mark, and inwardly digest” the 120 pages of which the Bishop of Exeter’s Pastoral Letter is composed, he will not be likely to differ from us when we say that it is by far the most *warlike* “Pastoral” that we ever read. It is “*Arms and the man*” from first to last. It is no weak and puny composition; it is not subdued and querulous in its tone, far from it; it is a bold, open, and indignant avowal of the author’s unswerving hostility against his Metropolitan, for a deep injury inflicted; its words breathe “*siege and defiance*” to the “fautor of heretical tenets,” who is the present Protestant occupier of the Protestant See of Canterbury; and we may safely say, that if any one of our readers fully realizes to himself the unity of faith for which our Blessed Lord prayed, and is anxious to know to what extent differences on the very highest and most vital points are allowed to be carried in the Anglican communion, we cannot do better than advise him to bestow his most careful attention on these two controversial writings, which, with a few remarks by way of preface, we now beg leave to introduce to his notice.

What then, in the first place, are the circumstances under which they were each written? We will state these circumstances for the benefit of such of our readers as have not been much behind the scenes of Anglicanism while they have been "shifting" during the last ten or fifteen years—years of not less eventful progress to Anglicans (though in another way,) than they have been to ourselves. It was about the year 1840, or 1841, that the agitation in the English Church, which is so generally termed the Oxford movement, rose to its height. That movement dated from July 14th, in the year 1833, and after nearly eight years of persevering and unceasing "progress," it gained that point than which it never afterwards rose higher. At that time it is true that one or two of its disciples had quitted "the Church of their baptism" for a more solid and substantial faith; but these were not the leaders of the school; they were weak and unstable brethren, of course, and were entitled to little weight. The 90th Tract had not yet been published; the Surplice question had not been mooted; the Times, as yet eager in their favour, had not blown the trumpet of Protestant alarm, or excited the feelings of our Protestant nation against the weekly Offertory; and he who was the master-spirit of the movement, though visited, as it would seem, with secret misgivings as to the reality and tenableness of his "Church's" position, had not as yet exchanged Anglo-Catholicism for Catholicism proper; Baptismal Regeneration had been satisfactorily drawn out, explained, and enforced, and the English people had even begun actually to receive it in part; for their eyes as yet were sealed to the necessity of the Sacrament of Penance as its balance and counterpoise in the analogy of the faith; and what is still more to the point, Mr. Gorham and Mr. Goode as yet were not. The antagonism of "Oxford principles" to the theoretic union of Church and State, and to that Ecclesiastical supremacy, before which the Reformers bowed down in abject reverence, and with which the English Reformation invested the reigning Sovereign, had not as yet been drawn out on the stage of Church Unions, and Meetings at Freemason's Hall; and Dr. Hampden was so far from being Bishop of Hereford, that he was only engaged as Regius Professor, enforcing Sabellian doctrines upon the young men of Oxford who were soon about to receive Anglican orders

from others as unorthodox as himself. We may fairly say, then, that in 1840, and 1841, "Church principles" were in the ascendant, and appeared to be rapidly gaining ground, both in public and in private, among members of the Establishment. And we may say with equal truth, that up to that period the same embryo principles, in a qualified sense at least, had met with some amount of approbation—"cautious," of course, and "judicious,"—from such of the Episcopal Bench as entertained any approximation to fixed principles at all. However dangerous such opinions as those of the Oxford school might be when pushed to their legitimate lengths, still they could not (how could they?) be wholly unpalatable, when stated in the abstract, to those Bishops who ever dared to reflect on what grounds the members of their own Establishment must be led to respect their persons. A set of doctrines whose first and foremost point was reverence for the office of the English Bishops, *as such*, as the true successors of the Apostles, and representatives of Christ, was naturally, we say, most acceptable for a time to many of the Episcopal body. How could it be otherwise, and with such principles as these, at least so long as they remained in their original and abstract state, and assumed no definite practical shape and substantial form, to the annoyance of those very prelates whose groundless claims they had been put forward to defend?

But among those eight-and-twenty prelates of the English bench, there was one at least, (if not more,) who, from a very early time, had watched their rising growth with a jealous eye. In the lofty tones which were used by the Oxford school in claiming a divine authority on the part of the English Clergy, and especially of the English Bishops, one of that body, Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Chester, since translated for his services to Canterbury, contrived, by a clever hit, to discern a sign of the cloven foot of Rome. A leading "Evangelical" in opinion, he knew that if the principle of the Divine authority was to be maintained at all, the cause of the English Reformation must be abandoned by thinking persons; he felt that if members of the English Church were once led to fix their minds on a visible Church, the Apostolical Succession of their Clergy, and all that cluster of connected doctrines which together make up what is called the "Sacramental System," they

would soon see themselves, *upon their own principles*, driven on to acknowledge that their Bishops and Priests could prove no lawful mission, and to confess that the Anglican Reformers, after all, worked sad havoc with the popular belief in a visible Church, and Sacraments of Grace. And so, convinced, as he tells us, (Appendix No iii., p. 83,) that "if God's purpose had been to set up a visible Church* as the medium of man's communication with Himself, He surely would have revealed this to us in clear and intelligible terms, whereas Scripture contains nothing of the kind," the Lord Bishop of Chester sat down, composed, and delivered to his Clergy a Charge, against which it would appear that his Lordship of Exeter thought it his duty to protest at the time; and now, after the lapse of ten years, having become his suffragan, speaks thus: "I declare solemnly, and with a deep sense of the responsibility which attaches to such a declaration, concerning a

* It would seem that His Grace of Canterbury is wholly ignorant of what St. Paul meant by "*the Church*." We never met with a writer, even in the English Communion, who more completely ignored it as a visible Body. In the appendix to his charge, he enters at considerable length into the question, and—(not much to the satisfaction of High Church-Anglicans, we fear.)—contrasts together the Catholic and the Protestant mode of salvation. He declares that Holy Scripture, "uniformly addresses us as individuals," and not as members of Christ's body the Church. In his eyes, the Church is nothing but an aggregate of such individuals as accept the terms of "*an offended sovereign*," namely, God. He again and again declares that "all the promises of God's Word are annexed to individual faith." (See pp. 31, 32, 33, for further proof.) He denies that the Church has any corporate existence, and therefore any life or consciousness, strictly speaking; and declares that those who maintain the contrary doctrine, teaching men that by incorporation into the Church of Christ, they are incorporated into Christ, and made one with Him, do nothing else but "interpose the Church instead of Christ as the mediator between God and man." We do not deny, that in spite of the Creeds, which the Anglican Church so inconsistently retains, in outward form at least, His Grace's sentiments are wholly in keeping with the general tenor of the English Articles, and especially with the twenty-first, which defines the Church to be "*a congregation of faithful men*, where the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered." But we are constrained to ask, whether these principles, when we come to analyse them, are not essentially one with those of the Independent and the Quaker?

document proceeding from such a quarter, that I could not name any one work of any minister in our Church, which, though of double the bulk, contains half so many heretical statements as are contained in this one charge." (Bishop of Exeter's Pastoral, p. 39.) But it is time for us to go into an examination of the Charge itself.

Having entered into some dry details of Church building and school building connected with his own diocese, he congratulates his Clergy on a general "growing attachment to the (Established) Church, an acknowledgment of its excellence, and a practical sense of the value of its services." And in the increase of worshippers, or hearers, or of candidates for confirmation at his hands, his Lordship proceeds most complacently to find "proofs.....that opposition or indifference towards the Establishment, or even separation from it, has not generally arisen from any distrust of its discipline, or doctrines," (why should it?) "but from the difficulty, or practical impossibility of obtaining instruction within its pale." Next, upon certain subjects which, in our opinion, even heretics and schismatics generally deem important, he speaks in terms in which, as we shall hereafter see, the Bishop of Exeter has commented most forcibly, but which we shall at once dismiss with the single remark, that however heretical they may be in the abstract, they seem to us, after all, quite consistent with the principles of the English, or indeed of any national establishment—we mean, as showing a perfect indifference to all real external truth, as such.

"Perhaps it is too much to expect," says his Lordship, "what nevertheless we earnestly desire, that there should be no schisms or divisions among Christians; that the Church of Christ should ever be a seamless coat; that all the congregations of faithful men should ever be so strictly one, as to think alike, and agree unanimously on all subjects: upon such subjects, for instance, as *Diocesan Episcopacy*, or *Infant Baptism*, or *Liturgical Forms*, or *Church Membership*, or a National Establishment. There may be always some minds, which, on questions such as these, may differ from the *conclusions which*"—(mark here the very essence of unbelief,) "*we believe to be justly deduced from Scripture.....*The comfort and peace of the Christian world would be greatly increased, if it were commonly understood that the unity which the Scriptures demand, were the unity of those who hold alike the great doctrines of Christian truth, but *consent to differ* on matters concerning which Scripture does not carry determinate conviction to every honest mind."—pp. 16, 17. (The Italics are ours.)

Now we may be allowed to remark, that if ever we read a passage containing more wide and comprehensive sentiments than another upon the most sacred subjects, it is this which we have just extracted from the Bishop of Chester's charge, in 1841. Nothing more purely liberal in its worse sense, ever flowed from the lips or the pen of even the Dean of Bristol. And yet, to use his Lordship's own phrase, the above passage is written entirely "in the spirit of those articles which our Church maintains," that is, in the spirit of the purest rationalism. And as, in matters of which a spiritualized Faith alone is cognizant, the human reason is but a sorry guide, we shall be much surprised if a further enquiry would not satisfy us that his Lordship is wholly at variance with the Holy Bible which he professes exclusively to venerate, though, here at least, he may be quite in harmony with the spirit, if not always with the letter, of the Anglican Prayer Book; and that as a consistent follower of what is essentially a mass of contradictions, he is consequently led to betray a certain amount of inconsistency with himself, and with the positions which he, at times, elsewhere assumes.

Of course, there is not a Catholic of the most ordinary talents and education, who does not know and believe that Holy Scripture sets forth to all men one, and one only, way of salvation, the faith of Christ; in other words, that of the "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," which bears His name. Every instinct of the Catholic's soul and reason, as well as every instruction that he has received from the days of childhood, conspire to press upon his mind the simple fact that, if he will be saved, he must firmly believe all those sacred truths which the Catholic Church, as the one accredited teacher sent by God, believes and teaches, because God has revealed them to Her and to us through Her. This, we say, is the plain doctrine of Holy Scripture; and therefore without fear of contradiction, we challenge the Anglican Archbishop to prove to us from Holy Scripture, that God requires no higher unity than a mere rationalizing acceptance of certain "great doctrines of Christian truth," teaching us to "consent to differ" on lesser matters. Who is it that shall arbitrarily define, we ask, what matters are great, and what are small and trivial, in the one Catholic faith? Every portion, every particle of that faith is God's eternal truth, and nothing which refers to God and to the salvation of souls, can be

small or unimportant. We, at least, who are brought up under the shelter of that Holy Church, which Dr. Sumner forsooth "pities," (p. 44) and of which he declares that it had neither God for its author, nor the welfare of mankind for its end," (p. 27)—we, who by God's grace enjoy the blessings of a *living, infallible speaking voice* to guide and direct our steps, *we Catholics* know that when once men lose sight of this great fact of one body gifted with divine authority on earth, to decide in God's name on all questions connected with the Catholic faith, nothing can ensue but doubts and dissensions and endless schisms, ever multiplying themselves as the human mind passes through new phases of existence and thought. Hence, we firmly believe (for the matter admits of no dispute) that, by the very law of its being, the English Church, having broken off from that one living authority which is the centre and the heart of Christendom, has sunk down to be, in Dr. Sumner's words, simply the "National Church," the "Establishment," "the Church of the Nation," not *the Church of the living God*; and that therefore, as his Grace remarks, it *is*, perhaps, "too much to expect that there should be no schisms or divisions among Christians" who live in its communion, or that its members, left as they are upon an angry sea without rudder or compass, should think alike on such *trivial* matters forsooth as "the Sacrament of Baptism," "Church membership," or "diocesan Episcopacy." It would be equally strange, if on these and other like matters, any "schisms or divisions" should exist among *ourselves*, who being united under the one Head, on whom our blessed Lord promised to found His Church, and to whom He gave the charge of all His sheep, are likewise united in one unaltered and unalterable faith.

But though his writings will not bear the test of Holy Scripture, still is not his Grace in keeping with the spirit of his Prayer Book, in speaking on these subjects as he has done above? We answer yes; *as far as any man can be in keeping with it*. His "views," (for such at best we suppose he would call them) like all conceivable views, are in harmony with *some portion or other* of the Protestant Prayer Book. Composed as it is of a variety of discordant materials, and compacted together by no one single external bond of union, except its antipathy to the Church of Rome: *some* statements at least of the Anglican Prayer

Book may of course be adduced in support of almost any heretical view, which any individual may put forward. It is so conveniently "comprehensive," that it has room for all; it shelters all beneath its expanded wings, except, perhaps, those who hold to the supremacy of the see of Rome as of divine origin. Every writer, from Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble, down to Messrs. Stowell and McNeill, make their home somewhere or other within its broad pale. And so while everyone finds himself in harmony with some part of it, no one is, and no one ever was or will be, in keeping with the whole of it, unless on every new page he chooses to propound some novel view, as unlike that which has gone before as the scenes in a play. For example, what Anglican can quarrel with the Archbishop for saying, that "it is too much to expect that there should be no schisms and divisions on the Church" (of England,) when he remembers how the Establishment, so to speak, has stereotyped schism and dissensions within itself, in its Prayer for Unity?"* And who shall throw the first stone at his Grace for pronouncing that Infant Baptism, Diocesan Episcopacy, and Liturgical Forms are "open questions,"—matters on which men may "*consent to differ*,"—when the Articles themselves declare, not only that "general councils may err," but that the Church has no authority to impose doctrines further than it can prove that they are taken from Holy Scripture; thus practically leaving to the conscience of each one of its members the ultimate appeal as to the real meaning of God's written word, and the inferences which he is warranted in drawing therefrom for the guidance of his life and conduct?

And still further, we feel constrained to ask how far his Grace is consistent with himself? He admits that there are matters concerning which Scripture does not carry determinate conviction "to every honest mind." Now, in the name of honesty, how does he reconcile this assertion with

* "O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace, give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away from us all hatred and injustice, and whatever else may hinder us from godly union and concord," &c., &c.—Prayer for Unity, in the 'Form of Prayer to be used in all (Anglican) Churches and Chapels, on the 20th of June,' every year. Can anything be conceived more plainly condemning? "*Habes confitentem reum.*"

his fundamental principle of the all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture? If there are matters connected with Christian truth, be they great or be they small, which are left in Scripture undefined, how can he say, (as he does say by implication,) that to encounter the infidel and the worldling, a man has need only to go forth with the Bible in his hand? in other words, that "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," is intended by God to be to Christians (and perhaps to Heathens also,) their sole rule of faith and practice? And again, what can the Archbishop mean by saying, (p. 38) that "Catholics in their creed hold the vital truths of the Gospel," while, at the same time, he denounces the Catholic Church, their holy Mother, as "*a system*" which "overspread the world under the name of Christianity, *which had neither God for its author, nor the welfare of mankind for its end* : who were debased by what was sent to purify them, and deceived by what was ordained to deliver them from error?" We are compelled to ask his Grace, if God was not the author of this great system which we call the Catholic Church, *who was?* By the confession of ourselves and our adversaries, it is not the work of man: and what remains but that in the opinion of his Grace of Canterbury, (we tremble as we write the words,) it is the actual work of Satan?*

* Dr. Sumner, it would seem, is very fond of attributing to Satanic agency, all those religious principles which are opposed to his own. Thus it is well known that he quoted and *authoritatively condemned as Satanic*, not only certain extracts from Mr. W. E. Gladstone's work on "Church Principles," but also the very words of Bishop Pearson, by far the greatest theologian that the Anglican Establishment has ever produced, and *one of his Lordship's own predecessors in the see of Chester*. We ought not, therefore, to complain at his Grace's insinuations. It is a very easy way of setting down an opponent. But uncharitable as it is, it falls short of the following terms in which the Lord Bishop of London, preaching within the old Catholic walls of Westminster Abbey, and before the Society for the Propagation of the (Anglican) Gospel, thought fit to denounce the Catholic religion, but a few months since. "The Church of Rome had departed from the example of our Lord, and by an unworthy condescension to the weakness of human nature on the one hand, and the rites of Paganism on the other, she had diluted and debased the truth of the Gospel, and *she had made a compromise with the powers of darkness* for achieving a seeming but unsubstantial triumph." (See Morning Post, June 17, 1851.)

And if it be such, let him further tell us how this system of diabolical imposture comes, as he elsewhere confesses, still to "hold the vital truths of the Gospel?" We pause for an answer. And finally, we may ask him, on what principle he excludes from the Anglican fold those views which the followers of Dr. Pusey hold upon Sacraments and Church membership, &c., while he vindicates the articles and Prayer Book, on the ground of being wide, and liberal, and comprehensive? If he is right in his estimate of their "breadth," why should he seek to exclude High-Churchmen from a place within their pale? They believe that their own principles are sanctioned by Holy Scripture; on what principle then are they denied toleration by men who profess to draw all their opinions from the self-same source? Surely there is room for both in so tolerant and comprehensive an establishment.

Such is, after all, the sum and substance of this Charge, which ten years ago was inflicted on the Clergy of the diocese of Chester. At once Latitudinarian and Evangelical, we cannot wonder that, little as are the merits which it claims as a piece of composition, and though still more worthless as a piece of theological writing, it had an effect at the time when it was delivered, as tending, in some measure, to raise the hopes of that section of the Anglican Clergy who, upon the whole, most nearly represent the tenets of the Anglican Reformers—those pure and holy men who, in the plenitude of their zeal for innovation, first put forth the "statement" of justification by faith only, and "pierced the veil to divest the Church of the mystery in which it had been shrouded, and disclosed it to the world, in its true and scriptural form, as the company of believers." (p. 33.) After reading this and other similar sentiments which occupy two-thirds of Dr. Sumner's pages, who can wonder that a person so far in advance of the miserable system in which he has been reared as Dr. Philpotts is, "nine years ago, on the very first occasion after that Charge was published," should have "addressed" his Clergy "respecting some of

Verily, His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman was fully justified, when from the pulpit of St. George's Cathedral he characterised such language as "atrocious and hateful to the God of charity and peace." (See Sermon on "Compromises of Truth in Religious Teaching." Richardson.)

its errors?" And now that Dr. Sumner sits in the once Catholic See of Canterbury, and complacently refers his Clergy back to that same charge as a prophetic warning—now that High-Church principles, when fully carried out, have been observed to "tend naturally to those Romish errors which were renounced by the Anglican Church"—now when his Grace's words have acquired, from his high position, that weight which they have not in themselves, our wonder is but little increased at finding that the Bishop of Exeter again returns with increased vigour and energy to attack and demolish the obnoxious document. For if the Archbishop's position be the true one for an Anglican Primate,—(and we have little doubt of it ourselves,)—then plainly one of two results must follow; either the English Church will stand forth in the eyes of the world branded by its own highest dignitary with tolerating two sets of irreconcilable principles, *one* of which must be a heresy; or, on the other hand, the Bishop of Exeter, and those who think with him, by the force of their own principles must be driven forth from the pale of so comprehensive and elastic a body; for their own position forces them necessarily to the conclusion that the body which, professing to be a Church, willingly tolerates a heresy, does thereby forfeit its claim to be a part of the Church of the living God. And if they once heartily embrace this conclusion, we know but of one haven into which it can carry them, the bosom of the Church of God. On this one point we have but little reason to differ from the Primate of all England, who augurs that all persons imbued with so-called Anglo-Catholic views, and taught to lay stress upon such doctrines as those of a Visible Church, Apostolical Succession, and Sacramental Grace, as opposed to unrestrained approach to God by an act of individual faith, must eventually be led to abandon the Anglican communion, as a body which either denies these truths, or else does not hold them except as a matter of opinion, and speaks upon them, as Father Newman once said, "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies."

Now, firmly believing, as we do, that these vital portions of the Catholic faith appear, at first sight, *in some degree* sanctioned by certain isolated parts of the Anglican Prayer Book, still we dare not pronounce that any one who holds these portions, (provided, of course, he

reject the supremacy of the Roman See,) any more than the person who denies them, is thereby at once excluded from that most tolerant and comprehensive of all heretical bodies, the English Church. He has a right to shelter himself wherever he can find a sentence of her formal documents to throw its protection over him. But then, on the other hand, he has no right whatever to hold these same truths, except as matters of private opinion deduced by his own method of inference from Holy Scripture. And so, if he professes to hold them or to teach them on the authority of the English Church, he must be reminded that in other parts of its formularies that same "Church" teaches him the direct contrary of these truths; and what then becomes of his vision of an authoritative guide and leader? Like "fairy frost-work," it has melted away before his eyes; it has ceased to exist. But after all, this is no concern of ours; and so, dismissing for the present all consideration as to who are, and who are not, honest in their subscription to the formularies of the Protestant Establishment, let us proceed to examine at some further length the celebrated "Pastoral Letter" which their Bishop has addressed, "upon the present state of the Church," to the Clergy of the diocese of Exeter.

To sum up our opinion of this letter as a whole in a few words would be impossible; in one part it is so warlike and belligerent, in another so firm and dogmatic in its statements of positive truth; here it savours so strongly of the astute and crafty advocate, and there again it bursts forth into such fierce invective against the authors and abettors of the (so-called) wrong which (as High Churchmen declare,) was inflicted last year on the English Church by the judicial committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council. Two things there are which seem more especially to gall and wound the Bishop, as from page to page he recurs to his "*Crambe repetita*" of complaint—the Gorham decision, and the religious opinions of his own Metropolitan. We will only forewarn our readers of a fact which we think High-Anglicans will read with some astonishment, that if they acknowledge in his Lordship of Exeter a far nearer approximation to the one great system of Catholic doctrine which underlies, if we may so speak, the whole of the writings of the New Testament, and especially the inspired Epistles which the Holy Ghost dictated

by the mouth of God's own Apostles, still they will find his Grace of Canterbury more in keeping with the comprehensive and latitudinarian views of that gigantic compromise, the English Prayer Book. Would that Dr. Philpott could be led to see to how much of the Catholic faith the inferences of his own private judgment (for, after all, they are nothing more at present,) have compelled him to bear witness; and would that God's Holy Spirit, even at this late day, now that he has passed the threescore years and ten of man's allotted span, might lead him to submit his will, ere it be too late, to the living, speaking, and teaching authority which God has set up in His one holy Catholic Church; and so enable him to exchange the uncertainties of *private opinion* and human doctrines for a solid and substantial *faith*.

The first subject on which his Lordship touches is one which, as he says, "stands forth in glaring and disastrous prominence among the events of the last three years." This is, of course, the Gorham decision; in his own words, "the blow which has been dealt (unknowingly, doubtless, and unintentionally,) by the judicial committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, against the Catholicity, and therefore the essential character of our Church, as a sound branch of the Church of Christ, by deciding that it does not hold, as of faith, one of the articles of the creed of Christendom." (p 2.) Against this decision, as is well known, his Lordship formally protested, on two grounds: 1. That Mr. Gorham's doctrines were not fairly stated in the report which the judicial committee presented to Her Majesty; and 2. That the Canons of the Church had been disregarded in the judgment pronounced upon the case. And this latter point he now endeavours very skillfully, but we think not very conclusively, to establish. For the subject is one which demands to be *viewed as a whole*. It will not do to take isolated quotations even from the very soundest lawyers, unless at the same time we take into consideration, not merely the abstract theory of what the Church ought to be, but the *actual historical facts in their collective bearings*. Now it is most certain that a community which wilfully resigns into other hands than its own the guardianship of those sacred truths which it believes itself alone commissioned to maintain and teach, has little or no right to complain if its unfaithfulness to so high a trust be turned against itself, and it

fall wounded or slain by an arrow feathered from its own wing. If, as we are compelled by the facts of history to believe, the English Church, by the "Act of Submission," sold away her own birthright to the Eighth Henry for a mess of pottage; if—forgetful of God, and of His most holy faith, which she was founded and endowed to maintain in this land, whether princes and kings and other earthly powers were willing or unwilling—she cut herself off from the rest of Christendom, and consented to have her synods convened only by the king's authority, and her Canons enacted in his name, and not in her own—if she thus "flung God's commission beneath the footstool of an earthly Sovereign," we do think that she has little or no ground of complaint, if she finds out, when it is too late, that the powers of this world regard her and use her freely as a tool in their own hands; and that henceforth she must speak with faltering accents, according to the ever-varying fashion of the age, and as a national institution, accommodate her creed to the sovereign people whose property, slave, and creature she has become. And hence it is of no use for the Bishop to plead on his side the "Statute of Appeals," which after all goes no further than to deny to "any exterior person or persons,"—(i. e., to the See of Rome,)—that "power to render and yield justice, and final determination in all cases," which it assigns in the same breath to "the one supreme head and king" of the English constitution. Hence, too, it is superfluous, or rather suicidal, to appeal, as his Lordship does, to Bracton; for, after all, he asserts no more than that the spiritual and civil sword ought to aid each other, a point which nobody denies; or to Coke, who, we really think, unless he was uttering the very grossest Erastianism, must have been intending a covert satire on the Post-Reformation Church of England, when he said, "certain it is that this kingdom hath best been governed, and peace and quiet preserved, when both parties, i. e., when the practice of the temporal courts, and the ecclesiastical judges, have kept themselves within their proper jurisdiction, without encroaching or usurping upon one another." Surely that great lawyer, when he wrote these words, must have been referring in memory to days when as yet the Reformers had not sacrilegiously given over the supremacy in things spiritual into the hands of an earthly monarch. For, let us ask, at what time, since those unhappy days, have the

temporal and spiritual elements ever worked, each in their separate sphere of action without encroaching on each other's province, unless both the one and the other be considered as merely subordinate departments of the constitution? And if this be the case, we suppose that upon the whole they *have* gone on with tolerable unanimity in their servility to the Crown. Still more unsuccessful is the Bishop in his allusion to the lay commission appointed under Henry, and again under Edward. For even granting, which we do not by any means grant, that they contemplated a Council of Provincial Bishops as "the only proper tribunal of ultimate appeal in all cases strictly spiritual," yet let High-Anglicans tell us plainly whether Anglican Bishops could constitute such a tribunal under Post-Reformation enactments, save and except by the authority of the king, and without looking to him to confirm their decisions? And what is all this but, to use the Bishop's own emphatic words,—“to fling the commission of Christ under the footstool of an earthly throne?” Surely if the instituting of Mr. Gorham to his living without further enquiry at the bidding of Her Majesty, be, as the Bishop says, such “a surrender” on the Archbishop's part, as “can be regarded only as the voluntary betrayal of a high and most sacred trust,” the question naturally occurs to unprejudiced minds, cannot Dr. Sumner fairly plead that he is only acting “ministerially” as the agent of a system which is based and founded on a like surrender; and that if *he*, by his single act, has renounced any Divine authority inherent in his office and mission, the English Church itself has been doing the same for the whole three hundred years of her existence? “The servant, especially if he is well paid for his work,” His Grace may fairly argue, “must not be too scrupulous as to the character of his master's trade; and if he is only faithful in executing the commands of that master, be they honest or dishonest, he is simply doing his duty, and his master must look to the rest for himself.” Let us suppose that a rich mill-owner has recently entered into a fraudulent speculation. Let us suppose that the thousand hands which he employs are well aware that the system on which their master trades is one which cannot be defended on abstract principles of justice, yet shall we blame the artizan who, without entering into the question of honesty or dishonesty, does his week's work, and receives

for it his week's pay? Just so the Archbishop may fairly plead, we think, that he is, after all, *the honest servant of a flagrantly dishonest system*, and must act accordingly. And this is just what he does in effect. We all remember the answer which he gave in the Hampden case to those Clergymen who requested him to decline to consecrate the Professor as Bishop. "Reverend Sirs, It is not within the bounds of any authority possessed by me to give you an opportunity of proving your objections; finding, therefore, nothing on which I could act in compliance with your remonstrance, I proceeded *in the execution of my office*, (the italics are ours,) *to obey Her Majesty's mandate* for Dr. Hampden's consecration in the usual form." And just in the same spirit, and fairly enough we think, the Archbishop answers some of the remonstrant Clergy of the diocese of Exeter, by saying that in the institution of Mr. Gorham to his living he acted not judicially, but *ministerially*. However heretical in the abstract Mr. Gorham's opinions may be, we say that the Archbishop could not have acted otherwise without violating the contract of servility to the Crown and people of England, on which he entered, when first he took possession of the See of Canterbury and the palace of Lambeth. The question, of course, arises, whose minister Dr. Sumner was when he did this thing? And we shall not disagree either with his Grace or his Lordship when we say that he was obviously acting as the minister of the Queen and people of England. *Whose else could he be?*

We cannot leave the topic of this decision, without one or two further remarks, though they are not strictly relevant to our immediate subject.

High Churchmen of the English communion, are apt to defend themselves from the obvious consequences of the Gorham decision, by pleading that whatever may be the decision of the State, the Church Court, at the head of which sits Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, pronounced its judgment in favour of the Bishop of Exeter. And on this argument they rely, in order to prove that the Church of England is not committed to heresy. Now clearly, *if Sir H. J. Fust's decision was the decision of the English Church in 1850, it was equally so in 1845*. And if Anglicans will cast their minds back five years, they will remember that the same Sir H. J. Fust, in the same court, and acting in

the same capacity, officially declared in 1845, that the Church of England knew nothing of stone altars, or altars of any kind, and by consequence swept away "Priest" and "sacrifice," as well as "altar,"—(for they all must stand or fall together)—from his Church's vocabulary. Anglicans, then, must either accept both decisions, or reject both. Which will they do? If they accept both, they have no altar, sacrifice, or priesthood; one of their "two only" Sacraments is taken from them. And if they reject both decisions, Baptism is robbed of all its efficacy as a Sacrament. Let them take whichever horn of the dilemma they please. And we must hazard another observation still—if Dr. Philpotts really believed that the Archbishop, in the case of Mr. Gorham, acted only in a *ministerial* capacity, in other words, as minister of the advisers of the Crown, how is it that he did not license a clergyman of his own nomination to the care of souls in the parish of Bampford Speke, and bid the parishioners, on peril of their souls, to communicate with him only? If, at least, he really believed his own doctrinal position to be essentially and solely true, and that each Bishop with his Clergy and people are a Church complete in themselves, independent of any accidental tie to a national community, how could he have omitted to take this line, the only one which could have brought matters to a crisis, and tested the inherent power of his own principles? Again, we cannot help pressing upon the attention of Anglicans, that the Bishop of Exeter (whatever might have been the cost, had he then adopted a different line,) cannot now plead that the English Church is not committed to the decision of the judicial committee; for he himself acknowledged the legitimate authority of that court by consenting to plead his case before it; the two Archbishops and the chief Bishop of the land sat in it as assessors, nay, the two former were "consentient, and even eager parties to the decision." (p. 9.) Deeply as Dr. Philpotts may lament it *now*, his grief has come too late. It cannot alter the past. What has been, *is*, and cannot be as though it never had been. Let us hear what the Bishop says concerning his own line of conduct; we cannot listen to his words without commiserating their author.

"I did not resist (as I was advised that I might successfully resist,) the appointment of such assessors to such judges. *The*

consequence has been most disastrous. Would that it affected me only ! I should then be free from that *self-reproach which I cannot altogether succeed in attempting to silence, that I rashly sacrificed the highest and most sacred interests of Catholic faith*, to feelings too much akin to courtesy and delicacy to individuals.”—p. 10. (The Italics are ours.)

The Bishop, we observe, expresses no regret for having pleaded before such a court as that of the judicial committee, but only for not having resisted the appointment of two “such” Archbishops as assessors. It is clear too, that in spite of himself, Dr. Philpotts feels that some how or other he has compromised the Catholic faith, and that he is now doing all that lies in his power to stifle the reproaches of his conscience.

The following pages of his Pastoral show us by what means he at present contrives to do so. He palliates the matter to himself and to his friends, by “saying that that decision did not go the length which has been commonly supposed of pronouncing the clerk whom he had rejected, as fit and worthy to be instituted to the cure of souls.” It only declared that “sufficient ground had not been laid by the Bishop for rejecting him; and that in consequence his own jurisdiction *pro hac vice* was null, and had passed to the Archbishop as superior ordinary.” Now this may be, for all we know, a very nice distinction on paper; but really viewing it practically, we do think that it amounts to what in another case, and where his own opinions and interests were not concerned, the Bishop would pronounce a mere quibble: at all events we should like to know what he would say to a candidate for deacon’s orders, who were to use a similar mode of explaining away the effects of infant Baptism; for, if he were clever enough, he might draw a hundred equally nice “distinctions without differences.” In our opinion, two negatives cancel each other; and when the judicial committee pronounced that Mr. G. was *not proved unworthy* of the care of souls, they practically and to all intents and purposes pronounced him *worthy*, on the principle that every man is held innocent until he is proved guilty. We said that the Bishop nowhere expresses his regret at having allowed his case to be pleaded before a civil tribunal. We may further remark that, although several of the Anglican Bishops at the time objected,—in calm and temperate language, of course, as became their position,—against the

decision which was actually given, *not one of the whole bench has ventured to grapple with the question in its widest bearings*, by formally protesting against the right of such a court to meddle with the sacred truth of God. Nay, further, up to this time nobody, except a few visionary members of the Church Unions, have attempted to do so; the decision remains on record, and will remain to the end of time; and we may fairly say, that the silence of the English people on the subject proves that they thoroughly accept it. 'Silence' did we say? or must we not rather read their entire approbation of the state supremacy, and of that one decision in particular, in the mad outcry which has been raised against the Puseyites? Such is the result, the legitimate and necessary result, of three hundred years of Protestant ascendancy; and such will ever be the case with bodies who cut themselves off, or (what amounts to the same thing) allow others to cut them off, from the sole centre of unity, and life, and faith, the chair of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles. We repeat, that if she had really believed that she held God's truth in her hands to keep, the Anglican communion could never have allowed, we say not such a decision to be pronounced, but such a court to pronounce any opinion on the subject whatever: and we assert that the lesson which the Gorham case is intended by God to teach, can be no more nor less than this; how wicked and anti-christian a thing it is, for the Church of God to league itself with those worldly powers against which she was set up to wage unflinching warfare; and also how signally God punishes those who, like the Israelites of old, in the days of Samuel, forsake the appointment of the Lord their God, and choose for themselves an earthly monarch; or who cry out with the same people at a later period, "We will not have this man to reign over us," "We have no king but Cæsar!"

His Lordship, as our readers may remember, closed his celebrated letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury last year, by formally declaring that, on account of the heresy with which His Grace was infected, he could no longer hold communion with him. Dr. Philpotts still not only maintains that in so doing he was fully justified, but confesses that if he himself was wrong, and "if the Archbishop had not, by instituting Mr. Gorham, become a fautor of heretical tenets," and so "forfeited his right to Catholic communion"—then "any one of his com-provincial Bishops who there-

upon renounced communion with him, would himself, by so doing, have deserved to be put out of the pale of the Church." (p. 14.) He then proceeds to justify himself, by expressing a "wish that subsequent consideration and experience had weakened his confidence in the fitness and necessity of the step taken by him. But," he adds, "it has been far otherwise." In spite of the powerful attack, which nine years ago the Bishop of Exeter thought fit to make upon his Grace's opinions, it seems that the Archbishop has again, in 1851, brought to light the charge which he delivered to the clergy of Chester in 1841, appealing to it as a prophetic warning as to the Romeward tendencies of the Oxford school of opinion. And this it is, as we said above, which gives his Lordship an opportunity of again attacking the obnoxious charge, part of the contents of which we have already laid open to our readers.

In that charge, the present Archbishop had selected two main objects of attack in the Oxford Tract writers—the doctrine of Justification, and that of the Church. It was not wonderful, he thought, that men who preached the atonement with reserve, should go wrong upon the question, "how sinful man becomes just in the sight of God," and according to their view of this cardinal matter, attribute a greater share in the work of man's salvation to the Church and its outward ordinances, than he and his school of opinion were disposed to allow. Accordingly, in the true spirit and almost in the phraseology of the thirty-nine articles, he declares that the Church is not a Divine institution, or a life-giving ordinance, not the visible authority ordained of God to dispense His gifts to man, not "the only way to eternal life,"—(though by the way Bishop Pearson, a former occupant of the See of Chester, thinks differently.)—but simply "the company of believers:" and by consequence he asserts, that "it ought not to be so put forward as to be interposed instead of Christ as the mediator between God and man." His Grace then insists that it is *by an individual act of faith* in Christ, and by it alone, that we are brought near to Him: "I examine the word of God, and there I find all its promises annexed to individual faith. Can I venture," he asks, "to turn aside from this, and claim the promises as a member of the Church?" And again, "so dangerous is that system of religious teaching, which places salvation (though it may be only virtually) in the Church; makes the

Church the prominent object, and would lead us in practice to depend upon a supposed union with Christ through the Church; instead of those evidences by which scripture teaches us to examine ourselves whether we be in the faith."....."The Church," he complains, "has been made by the Oxford school, first an abstraction, and then a person, and then a Saviour." Now, believing as his Grace does in the rationalistic theory, according to which the soul gains access to its Maker by an act of its own individual faith, of course we are prepared to find that he also subscribes most heartily to that unholy statement which, as he says, "came fresh from our Reformers," to the effect that "we are justified in the sight of God by faith only." We shall not now wade through the pages which Dr. Philpotts employs in showing the unscriptural nature and the evil tendency of that "*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*." We will only remark, as in effect we have already remarked, that if the Bishop finds *his own view* supported by the liturgy, the Archbishop has as certainly the articles on his side: to these he can safely retire and entrench himself behind them: for he knows that they expressly say, that "we are justified by faith only," and declare that such a doctrine is "very full of comfort,"—as of course it is to the careless and the worldling, or it would never have been broached by the Anglican Reformers. After this, how can the Bishop of Exeter allow Priests and Deacons to go on subscribing the articles before him, when he expressly states that, "the apostles often speak of our being *justified by faith*, but never *by faith only*, much less *by faith alone*: in other words they were not *solifidians*?" One of them says, that "a man is justified by works, and *not by faith only*;" the same apostle says, that "faith is dead, being alone." (Letter, p. 21, 22.) Here, however, are two prelates of the same Establishment at open issue, the one stigmatizing the union of works with faith towards man's justification as a departure from the articles, nay, as *Popish*, and "by implication, *devilish*;" while the other as plainly avows, that if "to speak of forgiveness or works of mercy, as availing to obtain remission of sins before God," be a departure from the spirit of the articles, he "would never more, by the grace of God, permit himself to act as Bishop in a Church which so openly contradicts the plain teaching of our Lord." (p. 27.) Need we further proof to shew us that the Anglican Establishment

is a house divided against itself, or to make us congratulate ourselves that our lot is not cast in its troubled waters? So true it is, that where the appeal practically lies to each man's private judgment, there must be parties and schisms; it could not be otherwise by the very law of human nature. But from these and other like disputes, by God's grace, we repeat that *we are happily free*. In the Church of God we have a *living, teaching, and divine* authority, to which we look for guidance on such matters as these; an authority on which we can calmly and securely rely, for we believe that Her decision is to us the voice of God, and that the Holy Ghost now, as in the time of St. Leo, speaks by the mouth of St. Peter, in the person of his successor. However Anglicans may perplex themselves with endless questions as to faith and works, we rejoice to know that the heresy of Jansenius has long since been condemned and driven from the bosom of the Church; and while we confess that faith in Christ does justify us, "because faith is the beginning of men's salvation, the foundation and root of all justification," (Conc. Trid. Sess. vi. cap. 8.) we still are taught to believe, that "if any one shall say that.....the just man does not truly merit, by the good works which he has performed,—though the grace of God, and the merits of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is—an increase of grace and life everlasting," such an one is anathema. (Canon 32.) And again, on the same authority we anathematize any one who says, "that the just, who have persevered to the end in virtue, and in observance of the divine commands, ought not to expect and hope for an everlasting retribution from God, through His mercy and the merits of Jesus Christ, as the reward of his good works performed in the Lord." (Canon 26.)

As to the hostility which his Grace exhibits against the doctrine of a visible Church, as the abiding Sacrament of Christ's presence, and the authorized dispenser of His own gifts and graces to man, we may dismiss it with a single remark, namely, that it is the natural and necessary result of a disbelief in the doctrine of the Incarnation of our blessed Lord. If men really, and truly, and practically believe that great and central doctrine, they *must* believe in one visible Church, in which all Christian truth is embodied, and which shall last to the end of time. High-Church Anglicans, we are aware, profess to believe this;

but how they can at heart believe it and not go on to its immediate consequence, *the infallibility of the Church*, we are at a loss to know. How the visible Church of Christ can live to the end of time, inspired, as they profess to hold, by the Holy Ghost ever present in Her, and yet they not believe her to be infallible, is a phenomenon of mental inconsistency which passes our poor understanding. How can the body which they confess to be indefectible, and to have in her the indwelling spirit of truth, be other than unerring truth? Without a doubt, "the process of individualizing the members of the Church, to the neglect of its essentially corporate nature," (which is the Archbishop's line,) is certainly opposed to "the whole tenor of the teaching of our Lord and of His apostles:" but in common fairness we must go on to say, that when Bishop Philpotts sets right his Metropolitan on this subject, he ought not to quote that part of a text which favours his own theory, and omit the words which bear incontrovertible evidence to the main position of the Catholic faith. When he quotes our blessed Lord's words, (p. 33.) "On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," to prove the visibility of the Church,—on what principle of fairness can his Lordship suppress the other words which tell us what that rock is, and make that visible Church to depend upon His chief apostle, "I say unto Thee, Thou art Peter, and *on this rock* I will build my Church?" It is in the name of controversial candour and fairness, that we ask the question of his Lordship. In like manner, we could assert from Holy Scripture "There is no God."

Dr. Philpotts next touches upon certain heretical doctrines which are at least tacitly countenanced, if not openly held at this day, by the various members of the Anglican bench. We always thought that there was a considerable amount of heresy to be found among them, and therefore we are not surprized to find there even such open and avowed denials of the faith as those with which the Bishop of Exeter has furnished us. It is undeniable, if we may believe his Lordship's word, that the same Archbishop who so strongly censures a "reserve" in case of the doctrine of the Atonement, not only keeps in the back ground the tenet of Regeneration in and by the Sacrament of Baptism, but openly declares to one at least of his clergy, that he thinks it "an unwise and dangerous doctrine on

which to base public teaching." On this principle of reserve, a sermon in which one of 'Her Majesty's Clergy' says that "at the font we put on Christ and are regenerated, or made new creatures in Him; the old world of sin and wrath passing away, and all things becoming new in our new birth to grace and reconciliation to God," is censured by the same Archbishop for its "bold" and "dangerous" statement. Another Bishop of a central diocese, —we believe the brother of a late high legal functionary of the Crown,—warns his Clergy against the use of the word "Catholic," as a *party* word, (!) and expresses his regret that it should have been retained in the liturgy." (!) And in a southern diocese, administered by the brother of the Protestant Primate, there is a Clergyman who is still unable to procure his advancement to the Established Priesthood, because he declines to assert, that no mysterious change passes upon the sacred elements in the act of Consecration. Now, if this same gentleman were to go into the diocese of Exeter, he would, doubtless, meet with immediate promotion. And does not all this argue a Church not only heretical, but also "divided against itself" in the very heresies which it embodies and supports? And what shall we henceforth think of a communion whose Bishops, upon the delivery of the Gorham decision, "after long and repeated deliberation," refused to make any declaration "as to the efficacy of Infant Baptism, though they spoke out loudly and with tolerable unanimity against the recent "Aggression" of his Holiness? With what face, we ask, can the followers of Dr. Pusey now put forth their claim to Catholicity? Had the Anglican Episcopate really believed in its own inherent powers of defining the Church's truth for members of its own Establishment, is it credible that they should not have met together on the very day when they knew that that decision was about to be pronounced, and then and there drawn up and signed a formal declaration, and forwarded it by that day's post to every Clergyman in their dioceses, and gone down each to their cathedral cities, and there from the steps of the altar, on the following Sunday, openly excommunicated all persons, lay and clerical, who should be found to aid and abet as "fautors" of such "heretical tenets?"

It seems that Dr. Pusey, (and possibly others also,) have drawn down considerable obloquy on the High-Church

movement, by the publication of certain Catholic books of devotion, on which they have first exercised their private judgment, by removing all that is not to be reconciled with an arbitrary standard which they dignify with the title of "the teaching of the English Church." We will not now discuss the question as to whether the English Establishment has any "teaching" at all, or if so, what that "teaching" is. But we will only remark, "*en passant*," that the case is the same with the Bishop of Exeter as with the great majority of (so-called) High-Churchmen; *the One* doctrine of the Catholic Church on which they stumble is not transubstantiation, not prayer for the dead, or the "mediation of saints;" no, not even auricular confession, or the Eucharistic Sacrifice; but the "all but divine honour"* which is paid to Her of Whom it was said by an angel's tongue that She was "full of grace," who was inspired to declare that "all generations," should call Her "Blessed," and Who alone of women was ennobled to be the pure and spotless Mother of the Incarnate God. On this one head, Dr. Philpotts—whose private judgment has led him to accept, as probably true, very many detached portions and fragments of the Catholic Faith—exclaims in indignant terms, (p. 51.) "Such books would seem to me worthy of all censure, and the Clergymen who distribute them, of exemplary punishment. In truth, I cannot understand why such persons have not been proceeded against." Neither can we, considering how easy it is for a Bishop, in this land of enlightened justice, to execute summary punishment on any of his Clergy who are caught tripping in the direction of Rome. "Prayer for the dead," according to Archbishop Sumner, would be a "vain superstition;" in the diocese of Exeter it is a "lawful," and doubtless a laudable custom. In the Catholic Church now-a-days, just as in early times, the sign of the cross enters into every part of our public services, our private devotions, and the ordinary minutæ of daily life. In the diocese of Worcester or Manchester, we suppose that it would meet with open scorn; even his Lordship of London seems to think that there may

* Of course here it is insinuated, that we Catholics are guilty of idolatry. But the Bishop's words refute his own accusation; for if the honour paid be anything short of 'divine,' we do not see how any Protestant can call *that* idolatrous.

be "a superstitious use" of that sacred emblem of our most Holy Faith; and his brother of Exeter thinks, that "*in the present state of the Church, a faithful and discreet Clergyman would be very cautious how he recommended the use of it.*" ('Reserve' again!) As to Crucifixes, "although," according to his Lordship, "there is *nothing, in itself, wrong*"—(how can there be?)—"in having pictures, or even other effigies, which may set before our minds the great act of our Redeemer's love;" yet it seems that, in his Lordship's opinion, they are even more "dangerous" than crosses themselves, because of the "idolatrous purposes which they have been made to serve" with us. We must confess that the only "dreadful abuse" that we have ever found flowing from their use, has been the excitement in individuals of lively and vivid feelings as to the *reality* of the great scene enacted upon Calvary, and a corresponding increase of devotion towards our Blessed Lord, based upon a realization of His perfect Humanity.

As to "mediation of saints," which is condemned by the Archbishop, his Lordship of Exeter sufficiently realizes the idea of the Church as one great "family in heaven and earth," to believe that the souls of the faithful departed *do* exercise the communion of saints by praying for their brethren in the flesh; but he will not allow that they are to be invoked, nor indeed that they "are cognizant of particular things now passing upon earth." (pp. 52, 53.) The former, he says, is Catholic, the latter is mere Popery. The Archbishop denies that there can be any propitiatory virtue in the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist; and we fully agree with him in believing that the Anglican Establishment does not even claim for what its members call "*the sacrament,*" any such propitiatory virtue, except in the most ambiguous terms; still less do we believe that the Anglicans have a sacrifice at all. The very idea of sacrifice involves some propitiation, and the Catholic Church has never taught that the Sacrifice of the Altar has any propitiatory power except in union with that one great sacrifice which it represents, and whose merits it pleads before the Father—the atonement once made upon the Cross.* Auri-

* We are rejoiced to extract the following passage from his Lordship's Pastoral, as a Catholic could scarcely desire to see the true

cular Confession, or, as Mr. Dodsworth calls it, "the administration of the Sacrament of Penance," has met with sufficient rebuke in one or two Anglican dioceses, to show us, beyond a doubt, that it is alien to the spirit of a Reformed and Protestant Church.* But as long as that rite is not enforced and made "part of the ordinary discipline of Christian life," the Bishop of Exeter approves it; confining it, however, to "the two cases where it is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, namely, either for the quieting of the conscience in preparation for the Holy Communion, or when a sick person, feeling his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, is to be moved to special confession of his sins." (p. 57.) Now on this head it is obvious to remark, first, that his Lordship practically makes it a luxury to which sickness is the only title; and secondly, that, humanly speaking, there is but little chance of any person, brought up as Protestants are, without the practice of confession as "a part of the ordinary discipline of Christian life," ever feeling his conscience sufficiently troubled with the sense of sin, either before the receiving of the Holy Communion, or even on his death-bed, to be led thereby to voluntary confession. What does he, and what can he know of sin without habitual confession? Better far abolish it altogether, as the Bishop of Worcester honestly and openly does, than

doctrine of the Holy Sacrifice stated in better terms. "Although once [for all] offered, that sacrifice, be it remembered, is *ever-living and continuous*—made to be continuous by the Resurrection of our Lord..... As then the Sacrifice is continuous, its propitiatory virtue is continuous, and the fulness of the propitiation is pleaded for the whole Church, wheresoever the commemoration of it is exhibited in the Eucharist. And the Church on earth continually cries 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,' not "that tookest away," but "that still takest," (p. 54.)

* And yet an Anglican Clergyman, Mr. Gresley, of Lichfield, has recently published a volume on the great need and benefits of confession. We will believe that private confession is really part and parcel of the Anglican system, *when we see a bonâ-fide confessional built and regularly attended by Mr. Gresley in his own Cathedral.* Till then we must be excused for believing that his words are mere idle theory. We are willing to leave the result of such a step in the hands of his Lordship of Lichfield, and his Grace of Canterbury.

thus compromising the matter by retaining its name without its power, and deluding persons by the use of the keys which the Anglican body disowns. Of course in what we have here said we are granting, for the sake of argument, what we are by no means disposed to allow, the validity of Anglican absolution, administered, not by an itinerant Clergyman in dioceses and parishes with which he has no connection, but even by the so-called "Parish Priest" within his own cure.

Yet, although he speaks in such very qualified terms of approval concerning these and other Catholic doctrines and practices, Dr. Philpotts complacently assures his Clergy that he is "very far from wishing to discourage them from teaching *High-Catholic doctrine*;" nay, that he "warmly commends it, if done with discretion, and due consideration of the ability of their people to receive it." (p. 64.) Archbishop Sumner, on the contrary, expresses his confidence that the Clergy will never be wanting in resisting all attempts "to weaken or subvert the *Protestant faith*;" and he tells the laity that "their principal duty is to promote the teaching and preaching of it." Now we are not going to discuss the question as to how much of "High-Catholic doctrine" the Bishop of Exeter may hold on his own personal conviction; for whatever that amount may be, as long as he continues to reject *one single doctrine* propounded to him by the Church as part of Her one faith, then it is plain that *he holds even the detached truths which he professes on an heretical principle*, and so is really, after all, a mere Protestant, and nothing more, however he may shrink from acknowledging the term. And just so all High-Anglicans who talk of "holding Catholic views" in the Anglican Establishment, however good and true may be their tenets in the abstract, are yet Protestants in principle. As he who breaks one of God's commandments breaks all, so no one can really hold the Catholic faith who does not hold it simple and unreservedly, as taught him by the living authority of the Church, speaking to him in the name of God. This it is to be a Catholic. But as long as men remain in the Protestant Establishment, in spite of their individual convictions as to the truth of certain parts of Catholicity, they must partake of the colour and complexion, nay, and of the nature too, of that miserable system in which they are content to live. Thus, inconsistently enough with his

position, the Bishop of Exeter "avows his ignorance of what is meant by the phrase "the Protestant faith." Has he then lived for seventy years in vain? Oh no! Most truly and justly has he remarked that "Protestant" and "Faith" do not, and cannot "accord together;" but they disagree, not, as his Lordship says, because their "objects" are different, (for we must beg leave to assert that *Divine truth, and not human error*, is the object of the shafts of Protestantism,) but from a far higher reason, simply because *faith is faith, and Protestantism is the denial of the faith—that is, Infidelity*. And eager as his Lordship of Exeter may be to disclaim all share in such a name and title, a Protestant he will, and must remain, in spite of himself, as long as he continues to occupy his Protestant See by permission of Queen Victoria. Nay, there must be another Reformation and another Revolution in the English Establishment, before he can cease to be a Protestant; for, as is the system, such are those who live in it; as the body is sound or weak in health, so will each member of it be. And since it was by a Revolution that from Catholic it became Protestant, nothing short of a counter-Revolution can change it back again. If his Lordship still yearns after the name of a Catholic, and desires in reality to be one, happily he has not far to seek; there is now, in England, thanks to the goodness of the Holy See, a Church complete in all Her organization, with Bishops and Priests, deriving their mission and spiritual powers, not from Henry, Elizabeth, or Victoria, but from the Vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, the one centre and source of all valid jurisdiction. Her gates are ever open; and those who seek admittance within Her pale, never seek in vain.

The Bishop of Exeter proceeds next to draw out a brief summary of what he calls "high Catholic doctrine." He enters at some length, and occasionally with great force of language, into the separate portions which constitute, with an Anglican of the better sort at least, what he terms his 'Sacramental system.' We confess that His Lordship shows some ingenuity, especially where he calls in to his aid the Articles, "*non hos quæsitum munus in usus;*" but we can hardly congratulate him on his success. Everyone knows that in those "Articles" the Church is defined on rationalistic principles, not as the one great supernatural system and body which acts as the

divinely-commissioned agent of grace between God and man, but as "a congregation of faithful men, where the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly administered." Now obviously this article taken in its honest foremost sense does leave every individual Christian the judge to himself, of what is "the pure word," and what is meant by "duly" administered. Every man or woman may interpret these points, and with equal justice, in his or her own way. Now, his Lordship very dexterously endeavours to dovetail in another article, in order to evade this difficulty. The article which refers to the Creeds, does not speak of them as authoritative documents of necessary and objective truth, to be received as such on the authority of the Catholic Church; but simply asserts, in the true spirit of the Anglican Reformers, that "the three Creeds are most thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most undoubted warrant of Holy Scripture." But this is far too low and "Protestant" a view for the Bishop. So he quietly turns the tables round and writes thus, "of the pure word of God, the eighth article tells you where it is to be found, even in the three Creeds." That is, while the articles declare plainly that the Creeds are to be looked for and found in Scripture, the Bishop as plainly affirms, that "the pure word of God," or true meaning of Scripture, is to be found in the Creeds! Surely here is either a most ingenious artifice, or a most egregious blunder.

Again, to prove from the articles and ordinal the need of Episcopal ordination, we think that the Bishop after all has only shown with what "stammering lips" this doctrine (if it be one,) of the Anglican Establishment, is taught in its "ambiguous formularies."* The twenty-

* A communication in the Catholic Standard of July 19th, gives a quotation from a letter by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he expressly asserts his opinion that there are not more than two members of the Anglican Episcopate who believe in the actual necessity of Episcopal Ordination. And the matter is set at rest, we think, by the fact that Dr. Merle d'Aubigne, in the month of June last, though himself a Presbyterian, actually preached in one of the Chapels belonging to the Establishment—a fact which he himself announces by letter to the Archbishop, as a sign of "union and communion between the Church of England and foreign Churches holding the essentials of Christian truth."

third article it is true, asserts the self-evident proposition that *some* external mission is necessary; that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon himself" the ministerial office. And the ordinal asserts another equally self-evident proposition, that "from the time of the apostles *there have been three orders* of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons:" but we defy the most clever controversialist to prove, that in either place the Episcopal order is asserted to be necessary, or even that "three orders" need exist for the future. Two isolated facts without a point of connection will not warrant a logician in drawing any conclusion therefrom; and the matter is but little mended if we throw into his Lordship's scale the twenty-third article besides, which asserts that the Sacraments are valid, even when administered by the hands of evil men, because they act not in their own name, but in the name and authority of Jesus Christ. Where in all this, we ask, do we find ground for the common assertion of High Church Anglicans, that the need of an Apostolical succession through Bishops, is expressly asserted by "the Church of their Baptism?" If she nowhere speaks out more plainly than this concerning her own claims, it is little wonder that so many of her members do not, or will not hear her, or distrust her when she speaks. As to what the Bishop alleges as the true cause, why the preaching of a Sacramental system stinks in the nostrils of Anglicans in general, we cordially agree with his position. We fully hold that *it is wilful unrepented sin that lies at the bottom of it all*. As Archdeacon Wilberforce elsewhere remarks, "men like in general to live at a lower rate of accountability." To use his Lordship's own words, "It is the natural temptation of the disobedient to strive to shake off the responsibility of those privileges which they neglect and defile." And the plain truth is, that men do not like, in the Anglican communion, to be told that, by virtue of their Baptism, they became "Temples of the Holy Ghost;" because if that doctrine be true, they feel that their sins become of so much deeper dye, and that *they have no confessional to fly to*. May we not add our own conviction, that wilful sin too lies at the bottom of the insane outcry and agitation which has so lately been raised against our faith? Men can sin on more safely and securely in the easy and comfortable system of Anglicanism, and the stings of conscience can be more effectually

quieted in the bosom of an Erastian Establishment, than in a community where auricular confession is made, not an occasional luxury for a sick man's bedroom, but 'part of the ordinary discipline of the Christian life.'

And here we take our leave of the war between the Sacramental and Anti-Sacramental Schools, which is raging in the vitals of the Anglican Establishment. For three centuries these two antagonist theories (for to Anglicans they are nothing more,) have existed side by side within its comprehensive pale. The "happy family," which our readers may have witnessed in Trafalgar Square, presents but too true a picture of what may be effected by a judicious mixture of terror, cruelty, and over-feeding, towards restraining the natural tendencies to strife which unhappily exist among some of our domestic animals. Just so, it must be confessed, that the terror of the royal supremacy, the fear of Rome, and the cruel persecution which merit, or energy, or missionary enterprise have ever experienced in and from the Anglican Establishment, have hitherto wonderfully conspired with rich livings and prebendal stalls, to keep the high and low Church factions (not to speak of others) upon tolerably amicable terms. But there are times which test and sift men to the bottom, and by that process tend to bring out their principles into bold relief. And so while the unthinking mass go on year after year in the system of the Reformed Church, and are content to live and die as members of a body which was founded on compromise, exists by mutual sufferance, and in the end is destined to die by its own hand, or of a plethoric attack,—reasoning and thinking minds are led by wondrous stirrings of their spirits to examine into this system of imposture for themselves; and as soon as they find that *it is only by consenting to abandon all truth as truth that they can remain within its pale*, one by one they reject these base and unholy terms, and are drawn by God's grace into the loving bosom of the Catholic Church.

The recent address to their Clergy upon ritual matters, signed by twenty-four out of the Anglican Bench, has called forth some remarks from the Bishop in his "Pastoral Letter;" but really the question at issue is a matter of such perfect indifference to us, that we cannot detain our readers with an account of the reasons which

led his Lordship of Exeter (in conformity with his usual practice on such occasions,) to withhold his signature. The document itself is one of the weakest effusions that ever proceeded from twenty-four Bishops of the English, or of any, Church: the only question really is, whether it betrays more want of confidence in their own authority, or more lamentable ignorance of human nature. Neptune may have quelled the sea with his trident, or Jupiter by the still more simple operation of a nod; but we much question whether such gentle measures, coupled with soft words, are of much avail with turbulent Anglicans: in the course of six months it has already become waste paper, as a measure "manifestly nugatory" in the eyes not only of his Lordship, but of all Anglicans, both high and low, who avail themselves of their inalienable right of thinking and judging for themselves. As to the old question, whether it was the principle of the Post-Reformation Church to include all Catholic practices which it did not specially prohibit—(which was once Mr. Maskell's position,)—or to reject all which it did not formally adopt, is just one of those happy questions on which Anglicans can argue for ever, without any hope of arriving at a settlement of the point; and for this plain reason, that the Reformed Church does not seem to have acted, so far as we can ascertain, on any principle at all. Clearly, therefore, we had better leave well alone.

We come, in conclusion, to those two points which, after all, constitute the gist of his Lordship's Pastoral,—the Royal Supremacy, and the Diocesan Synod. They are closely connected together, but as we purpose considering the latter question in a separate paper, we shall take the liberty of offering to our readers a few remarks as briefly as may be, upon the actual bearing of the former upon high Church Anglicans.

So much has been lately written upon the subject of the Royal Supremacy over the Anglican Church, that we feel scarcely disposed to enter upon it here at any great length. But in spite of all that we have seen put forth to defend it in theory, or at least to show that it is to be regarded practically as so limited by law and reason, that it may be held consistently with an acceptance of the doctrine of a visible Church, we think that after all, the fairest way is to go back for our estimate of it to the original documents, by which the reigning sovereign was formally invested with supreme

spiritual power over the Establishment, and to the glaring fact that, in spite of every individual protest, the actual supremacy over the Anglican Church in all spiritual matters is centred for every practical purpose in the judicial committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council. It appears, that one of his candidates for Anglican orders not long ago asked Dr. Philpotts how he could subscribe the declaration of his assent to the Royal Supremacy with a safe conscience. His Lordship, in reply, quotes the words of the thirty-sixth Canon, "The King's Majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm,.... as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal." And to prove that the meaning of these words is not to define accurately the intent of such supremacy, but simply to exclude all claims on the part of the Pope of Rome or any other external power, he quotes the latter clause of the same Canon, which denies all "jurisdiction, power, or authority to every *foreign* Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate." And hence he concludes, that no one who believes that the Queen is in *any sense* "under God, supreme governor" of the Church of England, to the exclusion of all other claimants, need hesitate to subscribe to its terms. For the limitation, however, of this power, he refers his client to the thirty-seventh article, which thus defines the extent of Her Majesty's authority in things spiritual. "We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's word or the Sacraments, but only that prerogative which we have seen to be given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself, that they should *rule* all estates.....whether ecclesiastical or temporal, and *restrain with the civil sword* the stubborn and disobedient." And such being the definition laid down by the English Church, "it is not necessary," says the Bishop of Exeter, "to consider whether any act of the State at any period.....or of any subsequent sovereign, hath virtually interfered with the inherent rights of the Church." (p. 96.) Now, in answer to this we must observe, that although it may not be either "necessary" or convenient for his Lordship to do so, it is very "necessary" *for us* to make this enquiry. Because if we can show that the Church of England, by any deliberate act of her own convocation, has wilfully resigned into secular hands the supreme authority over matters of faith, we may be excused for choosing to form our opinion

upon the merits of the case from what the Establishment actually did, rather than from the professions of faithfulness which she makes upon paper. To talk about "the inherent rights of the Church," is simply to beg the whole question; for what we want to discover is, whether she has any "inherent rights" at all, or whether she did not rather, three centuries ago, hand them over to the eighth Henry, or to use the phrase of Dr. Philpotts, "fling them beneath the footstool of an earthly throne?" One or two documentary evidences on this head will annihilate the whole of the high Church theory, in spite of the apologies of Andrewes, Hickes, Usher, Jackson, Taylor and Stillingfleet, Isaac Casaubon, or even King James himself: and we leave our Anglican readers to defend or deny them, if they can.

It is a fact, then, that in 1531, the Church of England in solemn convocation, and by a formal document recognized in King Henry VIII. its 'supreme head and governor,' "*Protectorem unicum et supremum Dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput (ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani scil.) ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.*"* And it is another fact, that in the instrument of submission † they speak thus, "We offer and promise, *in verbo sacerdotii*, here unto your Highness.....that we

* Wilkins, Concil. iii. 742-5.

† "By this act of submission," says Mr. Lewis in his able 'Notes on the Royal Supremacy,'—(a book which is the more valuable, because it was published three years before the Gorham decision was given.)—"by this *act of submission* a meaning and a force are given to the royal title, which otherwise it needed not have had: without this it might have been explained away, or served as a warning to other kings and other Churches. With the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, the king obtains corresponding powers; the Clergy give him authority over their deliberations; a negative voice in all their proceedings, and a power to review and suspend the past. All laws and constitutions of the English Church then in force, were liable to abrogation by the king's supreme authority, and the obsolete legislation of the past, liable at the same bidding to be quickened into life.(?) The Church of England, in convocation represented, surrendered deliberately all her jurisdiction into secular hands; depriving herself of the power to make Canons for her own guidance, and of accepting the sentence of even an œcumenical council, unless with the consent of the supreme civil authority."—(pp. 12, 13.)

will never from henceforth enact, put in use, promulge, or execute any new Canons, or Constitution, Provincial, or any other new ordinance, provincial or synodal, in our convocations or synod in time coming; which convocation is, always hath been, and *must be assembled only by your high commandment of writ; only your highness by your royal assent, shall license us to assemble our convocations, &c.....and thereto give your royal assent and authority.*" And then they go on to submit their existing body of Canons to the judgment of "His Grace" the King, and to thirty-two persons, lay and clerical, to be appointed solely by his majesty. And they permit "his Grace and the Clergy" to abolish any Canons which may be thought by them inconsistent with the laws of the realm. Here we see put into execution the Erastian principles, put forth by the "judicious Hooker" in the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, and afterwards more fully drawn out by the infidel Hobbes: in his Leviathan—principles which, in fact, identify the State with the Church, declaring that all spiritual power emanates from the civil sovereign, and that the sovereign alone has the right of committing the care of religion to its pastors, and of appointing judges and interpreters of the Canonical Scriptures.

And further still, to cut off from Anglicans all ground of pleading in defence of their position that from and after Henry's time, ecclesiastical appeals, instead of being carried, as had been the case hitherto, to Rome for final decision, were to be finally settled in the Archiepiscopal Court of Canterbury, by the English Church herself and in her own name, we must adduce another statute, (25 Henry VIII. ch. 19,) which declares that "for lack of justice at, or in, any of the courts of the Archbishop of this realm.....*it shall be lawful to the party grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty* in the King's Court of Chancery; and that upon every such appeal, a commission shall be directed under the great seal, to such persons as shall be named by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, *like as in case of appeal from the admiral's court, (!)* to hear and definitely determine such appeals." Here the appeal lies solely to the king in Chancery: and this statute is the origin of the Court of Delegates, which in the year 1831, without any remonstrance on part of the "Establishment" made way for the judicial committee of the Privy Council,

"in which resides now" (prophetically wrote Mr. Lewis, in 1847) "the supreme jurisdiction of the Anglican Church." "And here," he adds, "we find the king judging the causes of Bishops, possessed of the same powers, and invested with the same jurisdiction, which once were considered to be the inalienable prerogatives of the supreme Pontiff himself."

How true are his words, has been since that time proved by fact. It is in strict conformity then with the principles which the English Church laid down for her future guidance at the time of the Reformation, that Mr. Gorham should have appealed from the Bishop and Archbishop to the Queen as supreme; and therefore, while we fully admit the heretical nature of the decision actually given, we say that in our opinion, so far from being an act of injustice or oppression, we view in it the legitimate action of those Erastian principles which are bound up with the very existence—for we cannot say "the life"—of the Church of the Reformers. Neither his Lordship of Exeter, nor the respectable but visionary gentlemen who compose "Church Unions," have then any right to complain: they have only to sift their own principles to the bottom, and push them on to their legitimate conclusions, and they will be freed from their troubles. They will find that, to be consistent, they must either abandon what they hold to be God's sacred truth, or sooner or later quit their position in a Church so fully and so formally committed to what they know, and confess themselves to be, a fatal and Erastian heresy. For ourselves, we can only say that we deeply sympathize, (as what Catholic must not?) in the glowing and indignant language of Mr. Allies, in his "See of St. Peter,"* and we cordially recommend it to the careful attention of our Anglican readers, and of all whom it may concern. "Let those who *can* put their trust in such a Church and such an Episcopate," (as that of the Establishment,) "those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it." Let them do so, *we* never could. And this because every thinking mind "must repudiate either that supremacy" (of the Crown,) "or every notion of the Church," as "the one divinely-constituted society, to which the

* See Preface, p. viii. also p. 150.

possession of the truth is guaranteed, and which (alone) has a continuous mission from our Lord. The Royal Supremacy and the Church of God, are two ideas absolutely irreconcilable and contradictory."

ART. II.—*Acts of the Synod of Exeter, holden in the Chapter-House of the Cathedral Church of Exeter, on June 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1851. (By Authority.)* Murray, Albemarle Street.

WE confess that we were not surprised, considering the boldness and fearlessness with which Dr. Philpotts carries out those opinions which he embraces, when some six months ago he informed the world that he was determined to hold a Synod of "Her Majesty's clergy" within his diocese, in order to satisfy the minds of himself, and of the more ardent of his followers, and to exonerate the Anglican Church from the Erastianism of the State Supremacy, and the heresy of the Gorham decision. We say that we heard this without surprise; for his Lordship is by no means one of the ordinary run of Anglican prelates: he is not content with living on an easy life in his palace, glad to escape from the strife which rages between his "inferior clergy," and to close his ears to their doubts and anxieties. He is not a person who is willing, for the sake of peace, either in his own diocese, or in the Establishment at large, to allow things to take their course, satisfied if the system in which his lot is cast will only "last out his own time." Far from it: strange as it sounds to Catholic ears, he firmly believes (what we are sure that no other one of his twenty-seven English brethren believes,) that the Anglican Church is, not merely a Catholic Church, but *the* Church Catholic in England; he labours under a strong delusion that he is himself as really and truly as S. Leo, S. Augustine, or S. Thomas of Canterbury, a Bishop in the Church of God, and that by consequence he has sacred duties to perform, as in the sight of God—duties which he must not, and dare not, set aside for any earthly considerations. The rest of the Anglican Episcopate, though

they agree in scarcely anything besides, at all events are at one in confessing the deplorable and almost hopeless condition of their Establishment, and show not only their real belief in their *soi-disant* divine office, but also their power of united action, by doing—nothing. But the Bishop of Exeter not only admits the difficulties which surround the Establishment, but really sets himself to work, as he imagines, to remedy them, in spite of the supineness of his brethren, and the frowns of the minister of the day.

We will try and throw ourselves back, as far as possible, into the feelings with which we first heard of the coming Diocesan Synod. His Pastoral letter had informed us that he intended to hold it in his own cathedral city, during the month of June. It had been pronounced "not unlawful" (which we supposed meant "lawful,") by Lord John Russell and the Solicitor General, in their places in the House of Commons; and thence we argued that, in spite of all possible obstacles, which refractory clergymen seemed inclined to throw in the way, it would probably "come off." But when we remembered that the English Church itself cannot meet in a *Provincial* Synod, without leave of the Crown, and when met cannot enact a single Canon for its own guidance without a further Royal assent: we were naturally led to ask, of what practical good this *Diocesan* Synod could possibly be to those Anglicans who feel aggrieved at the recent decision of the judicial committee? If it were likely to have any real practical effect towards maintaining the independence of the Establishment, we argued (and rightly too, we believe,) that Her Majesty's government would never permit it to assemble. When assembled, too, we knew that it could not and did not intend to enact a single canon; thus much we had learned from his Lordship's "Pastoral letter." What then was it intended to do? And with all our thought and enquiry we at last found out that it was mainly intended to re-affirm, if possible, a truth which was ruled and settled once for all at Constantinople, nearly 1,500 years ago, and which every clergyman of the Diocese of Exeter outwardly professes to believe every Sunday, at the least, of his life. And why all this? We were told it was, because that Catholic truth, "I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins," had been declared by the highest Court of Appeal to be an open question in

the Establishment, as in fact it always had been for some 300 years.

Still we could not help asking, "What will have been gained by the Anglican Church when this doctrine has been re-affirmed by the Synod of Exeter? Mr. Gorham himself, and all other clergymen of his own way of thinking, will go on subscribing the form of words in the Nicene creed without hesitation, and then the Bishop," we felt, "will be only just where he was before. He will have tacked, it is true, but he will have made no way on his tack. If Dr. Philpotts intended his Synod (provided it should assent to his view,) to be regarded as a protest on the part of the whole English Church, against the recent heretical decision, how could he possibly fail to see that, on the old principle "*Exceptio probat regulam*," it would be to thinking minds but an additional proof that the Establishment, as a body, so far from renouncing that decision, welcomes and applauds it? Surely, if one diocese alone, out of twenty-eight protests against it, by a considerable majority, or even unanimously, what will that be," we naturally asked, "but a plain proof that the rest accept it?" We thought, therefore, from the very first, that little or no gain could arise from the meditated step, which Her Majesty's ministers would have been very quick to pronounce unlawful, if they thought that it would tend to forward the Bishop's peculiar views, or have any practical effect beyond that of weakening, and perhaps of breaking up, the party with which he has generally acted. "But of this," we thought and said, "we shall be better able to judge, when we learn at what decision the Synod actually arrives." Such, we say, were our musings on the subject five months ago. Time has gone on, and has revealed to us that we were not mistaken in our surmises. June came, and with it the Synod; its proceedings were solemn and orderly, just as those of a *real* Synod; and, to judge from the way in which High-Church Anglicans speak and write, everything was most satisfactory to the Bishop and his party. The Guardian, Morning Chronicle, and English Churchman, all speak in tones of triumphant exultation. Of the Archdeacons and cathedral clergy, a very fair proportion were present; and each Rural Deanery being invited to send up two delegates as representatives of the "Bucolic" clergy—for so Sidney Smith styled the parochial ministers—only two deaneries were sufficiently unduti-

ful or uncourteous to say "no" to their Bishop's summons: Two also of the "representatives" chosen, were absent; but upon the whole Her Majesty's clergy in the diocese of Exeter, seem to have been fairly represented, the entire number present being 111, out of, we believe, about 800. The results of their proceedings, too, seem to have been tolerably unanimous; the declaration as to the divine grace given to infants in Holy Baptism, as well as that which pronounces the appointment of a Catholic Bishop of Plymouth, "schismatical and void," being both carried without a dissentient voice; a third declaration of the Synod, professing "hearty and unalterable attachment" to the Anglican Church, and "thankfully acknowledging its ministry by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to have descended to them by unbroken (?) succession from the Holy Apostles," being passed with only five dissentients. We will not weary our readers with detailing all the discussion which followed upon "Church" Education, Training Schools, School Inspectors, &c.; we will not draw for their amusement (though we could with ease) the picture of an aged minister of the Establishment, rising up in the spirit of most perfect *ἐνθεῖα* to confess his own blindness, and deeply lamenting that he had ever allowed the practice of public catechising to fall into disuse,—a piece of carelessness and folly to which he did not scruple to attribute the growth of dissent in his parish. We think that for the good old gentleman's comfort we could prove, if space permitted us, that after all it is not himself but the system of his "Church" that is in fault: but we must pass on to notice another point. The establishment of agricultural colleges in rural districts on the principles of celibacy and religious self-denial and devotion, was negatived by the Exeter Synod, as we might expect, on the ground that, first, such institutions would occasion an unnatural and unjustifiable severance of domestic duties; (what is this in plain English but, "we can't do without our wives and families?") secondly, that the requisite qualifications would rarely be found in individuals willing to undertake "the office;" (what is this but "we confess that we have not got the true Missionary Spirit?") and lastly, because "if not so superintended, such institutions would tend only to aggravate the evils which they are designed to obviate." (And what does this mean, but "we are afraid of trying the experiment for fear of risking a

failure?") Of course, as the English Church knows nothing of the doctrine of particular *vocations*, and has no means of ascertaining the real bent of the minds of its members, or of guiding their zeal and their talents into proper channels, in fact, as it does not and dare not pretend to the gift of the "discerning of spirits," even in the slightest degree, we feel that the Synod have come to by far the wisest and safest decision which they could have adopted, in resolving to "let well alone" in this particular case.

Of course, were we inclined to enter into matters foreign to our immediate purpose, the Synod itself and its bearing on High-Church Anglicans, we might fill page after page in controverting the statements of the Synod as to their own Church's apostolical succession and Catholic character, as well as to the "schismatical" nature of the act of our Holy Father Pope Pius IX., in establishing first a Catholic See, and now a Catholic Bishop, at Plymouth. We are not surprised to hear Anglicans loudly affirming their own Catholicity—they have no trumpeter out of their own body to do so for them;—or dwelling on the 'apostolic succession' of their Bishops, in spite of the unanimous opinion of all Christendom, from East to West, against them. "To praise Athenians before Athenians is no hard task." This is an ancient proverb, and it strictly applies to the case before us; and Anglicans for the most part are sharp enough to see that if they cannot, by hook or by crook, make out their claim to a divine mission, their "occupation is gone." It is very natural then, and perhaps very pardonable, in the "Synod," to dwell upon such topics as these; for they did not of course meet together in order collectively to commit ecclesiastical suicide; they met to judge their own case dispassionately, and to pronounce an acquittal on themselves; but in the name of common fairness we must ask them one question:—The Synod have recorded "their full conviction, that secession from this (the Anglican) Church, being a sound part of the Catholic Church, to any other religious community, is in itself an act of schism, and as such, perilous to salvation; and in particular that secession to the Roman community in England, is not only an act of schism, but involves also the abandonment of truth for error." Granting, therefore, (what we by no means can allow, except for the sake of argument,) that the Anglican establish-

ment is a part, or even 'a sound part,' of the Catholic Church, we ask for a plain reason why the holy Roman Church should be singled out as that one communion of all others, to which it is "*in particular*" "perilous" for Anglicans to submit, as "*involving*" "*in particular*" "the abandonment of truth for error." Is it that the Catholic Church has been distinguished from all other professedly Christian bodies for laxity in adhering to the great doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity? or in enforcing a firm belief in the reality of the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour? No: on these heads, it is admitted by even the most violent of our opponents, that the Roman Church has always shown herself the bulwark of orthodoxy: nay, even such Protestants as Dr. Sumner allow, that in spite of all our errors we hold in our creed the great truths of the gospel. (Charge of the Bishop of Chester, 1841, p. 38.) Is it that we give honour all but divine to her who was the honoured instrument whereby "God was manifested in the flesh?" But almost every Anglican writer agrees in confessing that, in this respect, the schismatical Greek Church in the East is far more "idolatrous" than ourselves. Is it not rather because *it was felt by the Synod*, that in order to gain the sympathy and confidence of the Protestant laity, *it was necessary to say something or other strong against the Church of Rome?* to throw overboard, as it were, a tub for the Protestant whale to play with, in order to draw off its attention from the Catholic yearnings—for such after all we must regard them—of the High-Church party? We will only add that, on the hypothesis of the Anglican communion being "a sound part," or part at all of the Catholic Church, the erection of the See of Plymouth, by the Pope is, undoubtedly, an act of schism. But in an argument such as the Synod uses to condemn us, who does not see that the whole force lies in the truth or falsehood of the Prosyllogism embodied in its premisses? And it is this which we indignantly deny as a ten times refuted fallacy. The English Church is not, and never has been, at least since the Reformation, "*a part of the Catholic Church.*" Where is the proof that it has ever been recognised as such by any other Episcopal body besides itself? Assertion is not argument; we want a witness to the character of Anglicanism. The Church of Rome disowns the Anglican Bishops; so does the Greek schismatical Church, even

more completely than we disown them. And if Anglicans still plead for toleration on the "branch" theory, we triumphantly make answer that *branches imply a trunk*; and what, and where, we ask, is *the trunk* on which, by the confession of all men, the English Church once grew and flourished, but from which it *now* lies severed? And is the ancient parent *trunk* to be that one communion which, as a dutiful child, the English Church ought to denounce, as "in particular" perilous and soul-destroying? If the bough of a forest oak could speak as it lies upon the ground, do you think it would earnestly warn the woodman, if he had any idea of grafting it in again, to be careful "in particular" not to restore it to its parent trunk?

Weak as this Anti-Catholic declaration is, we now come to that which is, after all, *par excellence*, the weak point of the Synod. If there is one grievance greater than another under which High-Church Anglicans profess to labour, it is *the practical working of the Royal Supremacy*. By their own confession, they admit that the mere authoritative reversal of the Gorham decision, even if it could be effected, would not go to the bottom of the matter. They are wise enough to see that if the axe is to be laid to the root of the tree, it must be done only by procuring that this Supremacy be, in some way or other, altered, modified, or limited. They confess that mere declarations and protests on the subject of Baptism, are but so many expedients for getting rid of the immediate weight off their consciences, so many means of easing, for the moment, a shoe which pinches them. But they know and feel that it is in the Royal Supremacy, and in that Supremacy, not merely as practically exercised by Queen Victoria, but as theoretically defined under Henry and Elizabeth, that the real gist of the matter lies. They are miserable, and must be so; because they find themselves in a position where they are called upon to obey two masters, whose commands are quite irreconcilable. And so they are driven, each in the depth of his spirit, to find out some principle upon which they can continue at the same time, to hold the conflicting doctrines of a real visible Spiritual Society, such as they conceive the Establishment to be, and of an equally real and equally visible State control. Now the adjustment of these two conflicting duties, or at least *some* declaration as to the way in which both can be

held by Anglicans, and theoretically at least defended, was, we maintain, not merely a matter which *ought* to have been discussed and settled in the Exeter Synod, but *the* first and foremost part of their deliberations. And how has the "Synod" dealt with this difficulty? It has not even ventured to allude to it: it has altogether ignored it. In the "Acts of the Synod," as published "by authority," we can find no record of any attempt to grapple with the question. Now, in order to make the results of this "Synod" satisfactory to the most "safe" and moderate Anglican, we ask, was not *some* discussion of this subject needed, nay, was not some strong resolution or declaration necessary, to warrant the "Guardian" and other High-Church papers and pamphlets in indulging in their tones of triumphant exultation? We confess for ourselves, that anything short of this point ought to be regarded by Anglicans, *upon their own principles*, as either an unpardonable omission in the Bishop and his party, or an egregious admission of the essential weakness of their "position."

"But still," we fancy some Anglican may reply to us, "in spite of all its short-comings, surely the Exeter Synod is, at all events, a sign of life in the English Church. Granted that it has not done all that we could have wished, still you cannot deny that the case of a Church which shows such signs of life as this, is a most hopeful one." "Signs of life," indeed! we grant it willingly. Let us see what, after all, is the worth of this admission. We will take an instance in point to show, (however paradoxical it may seem,) that signs of life, mean signs of decay and approaching death. A gentleman meets a friend whom he has not seen for years; meets him apparently in the very bloom of health and strength. He salutes him, and begins to congratulate him on his healthy looks. "I am glad to see you, Sir, showing such signs of life; really when I see you I cannot help acknowledging that you exhibit some symptoms of healthful existence still. You don't seem likely to die to-morrow." "I thank you; but really you astonish me; thank God, I never was better in my life. You talk of my showing 'signs of life;' you really can't mean to say that you see anything amiss in me; if you do, pray tell me at once. You really speak as if you thought I was on my last legs, and had but a little time to live." Such would be the answer: any one in his sound senses knows perfectly well, that we never

begin to dwell on such subjects as "signs of life," until health and strength are failing or gone, and the body lies prostrated on a bed of chronic sickness. It is when matters have gone thus far, and not till then, that we strain our attention to watch for symptoms to inspire us with some faint hopes of the patient's eventual recovery. *Then* we mark and note them eagerly. Apply the case. Would the Anglican Church, or at least its High-Church members, think you, be so constantly dwelling on the few "signs of life" which they fancy they can observe in it, if they were not at heart conscious that their patient's case is at least very bad, and if they were not anxious to buoy themselves up with some fallacious hopes of its recovery, though they see their patient itself rapidly growing worse? A man upon his death-bed looks out anxiously enough for these "signs of life;" when he is in good health, he feels that the very mention of their name is simply ridiculous. We assert, therefore, that we could not wish for a more complete tacit acknowledgment of the hopeless nature of the malady under which the Establishment is now suffering, than the constant way which its members have of dwelling with such complacency and self-gratulation on its "signs of life." "There is life in the old dog yet," is a confession that the aforesaid dog has not long to live: and so "signs of life" are, to reflecting minds, but signs of approaching dissolution.

"But, after all, is it nothing to the English Church thus to have convened a Synod of the diocese of Exeter, and to have re-affirmed the impugned doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration?" Our answer is plain. *It is something*, beyond a doubt; but it is a "something" which leaves your case even more hopeless than ever. It has served to shew your weakness, your essential weakness. By your own confession the *whole* English Church is involved in heresy by the Gorham decision, unless she repudiate it. Out of the twenty-eight dioceses of England and Wales, *one*, and one only, has repudiated that decision by a large majority. What must we then believe concerning the other twenty-seven? Of course that they are willing to abide by it. And if our Anglican friends assert their belief that a majority of the clergy in each diocese would be found to disown that decision, we reply that if so, their case becomes still worse, for if such be the case, why do they remain silent? why do not the Anglican

prelates convene their clergy, and why do not the Clergy themselves speak out? And then after all, as we said above, the re-affirmation of one particular clause in the Nicene Creed, is not all that Anglicans need, by their own confession. We do then still think, in spite of the exultation of the High-Church organs, that the Exeter Synod, however it may, for a time, buoy up unthinking minds with a fond and unreal delusion, will be found, ere long, to have afforded but a fresh demonstration of the utter impotency of "Anglo-Catholicism."

But it is time to hasten towards our conclusion. When *will* his Lordship of Exeter learn that it is not by individual, but by *united action*, that an Episcopate can show itself actuated and inspired by *the spirit of unity and truth*? And when will his eyes be opened to see that the life of the Church consists, not in the dead records of the past, or in re-affirming truths to which centuries upon centuries have set their seal; but in authoritatively defining them, and enforcing them by an *united, living, speaking* voice, and in developing them onwards into their legitimate consequences? Thus, when the Church met together at Nicæa to refute the heresy of Arius, she did not content herself with re-asserting the ancient truth, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" but under the guidance of God the Holy Ghost, she drew up an expanded Creed, containing a full statement of the Catholic doctrine, and imposed it on all her members, while at the same time, she formally anathematized the Arian "view." But no "National" Church, no mere human "Establishment," no body short of the one Church of the living God, can do so now. It is not very long since the Anglican Episcopate found out that, after long and repeated deliberation, they could not even draw up an united statement of what is, and has been, the Anglican doctrine, as to the effects of Infant Baptism. This failure, we say, stands on record against them as a body. How much less then can they venture, collectively or individually, to determine what is henceforth to be received and believed as necessary truth, and to stamp it with the mark of their "Church's" authority? Why the very attempt to do so must needs be a failure, or if not, we have only one more observation to offer, and we have done. In summoning his "Synod," the Bishop of Exeter has pushed his Anglicanism to its furthest lengths. He has, by so doing, laid

bare the original principle on which it is based. He has saved us the trouble of analysis. Just as mere Protestantism, when its principles are carried out, makes every individual to be Pope, Church, and all in himself, and Christendom to consist of the aggregate of these individual popes; in like manner Anglo-Catholicism, which is but a Protestant substratum with an Episcopal superstruction, leads its *consistent* followers to the conclusion, that "every Diocese," (or in other words, every Bishop with his clergy and laity,) "is in itself a whole;" in fact, constitutes a complete Christian Church.* In the one case the individual Christian, and in the other the individual Bishop, becomes to himself the ultimate appeal in all matters connected with the faith. Now, perfectly agreeing as we do with his Lordship, that "*a National Church* is only an adventitious and accidental

* These pages were already written when we chanced to see Mr. Keble's "Pastoral Letter" to his parishioners at Hursley, on occasion of the proposed Synod. We thank him for having so literally confirmed the estimate which we have here formed of Anglicanism when pushed on into its consequences. On page 14 he writes thus: "Such an assembly, such a Synod, has now been called by the Bishop of the *Church of Exeter*." Again, "I..... requested your prayers for our brethren in the *Church or Diocese of Exeter*." And again he calls this Diocese "*one which is not the least of the Churches of God in this island*." (The italics are our own.) Surely this bears us out in all that we have said. "*Habes confidentem reum*." Henceforth, as Protestantism takes for its motto, "*Quot capita, tot studia*," so let Anglo-Catholicism write upon its banners, "*Quot Episcopi, tot Ecclesiæ*." Are not "Anglo-Catholics," by their own confession, as far from acknowledging "*one Catholic Church*," as Mr. Gorham is from admitting "*one Baptism*?" We have not time further to enter upon Mr. Keble's letter as a whole; so we will content ourselves by merely reminding him, that at least nine tenths of Christendom agree in denying his assertion that "our" (i. e. Anglican) Bishops are Bishops, *there is no doubt of that*; and the Priests ordained by them are Priests." If the Anglican Church wishes to make out its title to an Apostolic Mission, *it must call other witnesses to prove its claim, besides its own members*. This is but fair. And considering that the Diocese of Exeter is not the Church of England, any more than the Anglican Establishment is the Church Catholic, we do not see how it is such "a great and good thing for us (Anglicans,) and our children," to have "the true doctrine and faith of the Nicene Creed concerning Holy Baptism," re-affirmed

ordinance," and that to the unity of the Church "it is not necessary that there should be a National Church" at all: we join issue with him as to the consequences of his other position—the integrity of each particular Diocesan Church. How will he reconcile this position with the words of St. Cyprian, "The Episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole?" His Lordship will readily admit that, where the ultimate appeal lies to the conscience of each individual, private judgment is supreme, and endless dissensions must ensue. He will confess that on this theory, there must be almost as many Creeds as individuals, "*quot capita tot studia*;" and he will condemn the principle as directly militating against the divine doctrine of the unity of the Church; in fact, as being the doctrine of none but the sect of the Independents. But what will his Lordship answer, when we arraign him in turn, and say to him, "*mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*?" What answer will he give us when we tell him that Anglo-Catholic as he professes to call himself, he is, after all, a Protestant, yes, and even *an Independent in principle*? His Lordship and his admirers will stare at this bold assertion, but we are prepared to make it good against him and them. For let us view his theory in its consequences: first, then, as Anglican Bishops confessedly do not all speak the same thing, the Creed of each Diocese will be different; at all events, it need not be the same: for as the ultimate appeal in the Diocese of Exeter lies in the Bishop of Exeter, and in the Diocese of Worcester (for instance,)

by the Synod of Exeter. Is it logical to argue from the part to the whole, from the particular instance to the general principle? Grant that one twenty-eighth section of the Anglican Establishment holds Catholic opinions upon one Article of the Creed: are we to infer that, therefore, the *whole* English Church holds Catholic doctrines upon *all* the Articles of the Creed—in other words is Catholic? Can one imagine a more transparent fallacy? Why, what will Mr. Keble say to this? "One twenty-eighth part of the English Church denies the Regeneration of Infants in Baptism; therefore the whole English Church denies the whole Creed?" Every one in the latter case can see the absurdity of such an argument, as an argument, in point of conclusiveness and form,—even though he may be disposed, as we are, to believe the conclusion not far from the truth. And does not the former argument fall with it?

in the Bishop of Worcester, and as each Bishop is supposed to be capable of defining truth for his Diocese, then it follows of necessity, that what is true in Exeter need not be true, nay, may be false, in Worcester; and that so the faith must depend upon geographical divisions. Hence, too, as a second consequence, while *an individual may incur the sin of heresy, a Bishop never can*; for being complete in itself, the Diocese has its own faith, and that must depend on the opinions of its own diocesan. But we fancy that Nestorius was both a Bishop and a heretic. And a third consequence will be found to be that the same individual who is orthodox in one Diocese will be a heretic in another; and that the peer or member of Parliament, who for six months of the year holds the truth in London, may be a heretic during the other six at his country seat. We repeat, that this is identical in principle with the views of Independents, and that these are the consequences with which every system is fairly chargeable when it once gives up the great Catholic verity of one infallible centre of unity, with which it is necessary for every particular Church to be in communion: unless, perhaps, that system likes, at the same time, to give up the idea of any divine authority in its Episcopate, and to fall back upon the theory of Hobbes, that all spiritual jurisdiction flows from the secular power. In the sixteenth century, the two provinces of York and Canterbury determined that it was no longer necessary for them to communicate with the see of Rome; that it was lawful for them to act independently of the whole Church, and (as they professed,) to reform themselves apart from all the other Dioceses of the Christian world. And now that three centuries have passed away, mark the result: the English Church, as an undutiful child, has met with its own reward. It threw off the parental sway of Rome to follow its own wayward will, and it seems now likely to reap the fruits of its ancient sin. For on what principle can she rise up in judgment on the Diocese of Exeter, if it shall choose to retire within itself, to reform what it considers to be existing abuses in the parent Establishment, as she herself "reformed" the so-called abuses of the Church of God three centuries ago, and finally "to renounce all further connection with a body, which, in its own opinion, has become heretical?" Thus, whatever Anglicans may say, there is not a single argument

on which the English Reformation can be defended, which will not equally defend the Bishop and Diocese of Exeter, in erecting itself (if it can effect its end,) into a separate body aloof from the rest of the Establishment; and there is no single argument which the English Church, as a body, can adduce in condemnation of the schismatical conduct of Dr. Philpotts, which will not equally pronounce sentence upon the principles and practice of the leaders of that unhappy schism which men call the English Reformation. Nay, we see not what can prevent each Archdeacon in his Archdeaconry, and each Rural Dean in his Deanery, through the length and breadth of Devon and Cornwall, from pressing on to its legitimate conclusion the suicidal principle which their own Diocesan has set forth; and perhaps, we may live to see the day when every separate parish in his Lordship's Diocese will rise and proclaim the self-same sentiments on its own account; when the Rector and Churchwardens, after their parish feast, will sit in judgment on their Bishop, pronounce him "a fautor of heretical tenets," declare the integrity of every parish in itself, affirm their own Catholicity, and disown all further communion with their excommunicated neighbours. If this should never come to pass, the English Church will only have to thank, under God, the illogical minds of Englishmen in general, and of her own members in particular: and if, in God's Providence, such a day should dawn upon them, the nation will be keen-sighted enough to lay the blame and scandal at the doors of Henry Philpotts, sometime Lord Bishop of Exeter.

ART. III.—*Miscellany of the Celtic Society: the Genealogy of the Corcailidhe; Poem on the Battle of Down, by Gilla Brighde Mac Conmhíde; Doucra's Tracts; several Poems, Pedigrees, Extracts.* Edited by JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq., L. L. D., M. R. I. A. Dublin: Printed for the Celtic Society, 1849.

HAVING, in two of our former numbers, explained the objects of the Celtic Society, and recommended it to the support of our readers, we deem it unnecessary in introducing to notice its third publication, to make any profession of the deep interest which we feel in its success. From the list of subscribers published in this volume, it appears that the four Archbishops, and more than half of the Bishops of Ireland, together with a large number of the most respectable priests, are subscribers; but it is to be regretted, that, with a few very cheering exceptions, the English supporters of similar literary societies, seem not to think the archæological researches of the Celtic Society, at least, entitled to their patronage. Yet there is nothing in the constitution or objects of the society to repel any supporter who wishes to see Irish history, such as it is, rescued from the hands of ignorant or narrow minded compilers. That is its sole end and aim—to supply the rough material to the historian, with notes and illustrations, free alike from the high flown exaggerations of national vanity and the bigotted or contemptuous misrepresentations of domestic or foreign revilers. A project so reasonable deserves the support of every historical student, who knows that Ireland, fallen though she be now, once had a great name among the Christian nations of Europe, and that even after all the unprecedented afflictions of the last few years, she still is a most important member of the British Empire.

It is useless to remind the reader of the value of an historical miscellany, a volume containing a number of detached and independent pieces, often not very important in themselves, but when collated with others, not less suggestive to the historian, than a fossil is to the geologist. Following the example of other associations, the Celtic Society resolved to collect the literary fragments scattered

through the ponderous pages of such Irish encyclopedias as the Books of Leacan and Ballymote; and in this volume we have a very favourable specimen which may please by its variety, many, who in those days of light learning, would willingly dispense with unity in an archæological theme.

The first tract in this miscellany is entitled "the Genealogy of the Corca Laidhe," a tribe descended according to bardic accounts, from Ith, one of the Spanish progenitors of the Irish people. Ith was paternal uncle of Milesius, whose three sons, Eremon, Eber, and Ir, were the reputed founders of the Milesian nobility in three provinces of the island, and a considerable part of the fourth. The descendants of Ith being, we are told, restricted to part of South Munster.

That the reader may form some notion of the bearing of the tract, it may be necessary to state very briefly the bardic story of Pagan Ireland, as it has been digested by O'Flaherty, the most patient and learned of all Irish seanachies.

The Irish, according to their own account, were not all of the same race, several colonies having successively invaded, and for a time held possession of the whole, or part of the island. To the primeval colonies of Partholanus and Nemethus, which went over not long after the deluge, we may apply the classic lines cited by O'Flaherty himself.

Ibant obscuro sola sub nocte per umbras
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania rega.

These colonies are not honoured by a single notice from some bards of high authority; and by a rather suspicious coincidence, Partholanus, who landed A. M. 1970, has four sons, Er, Orba, Fergna, and Farran, the very heroes who figure more than a thousand years later, as the sons of the Milesian patriarch, Eber. The only circumstance worth attending to in the fable of these primitive colonies, is that according to the general opinion, they were of the same race as those that succeeded them, and all, it is said, spoke the same language.

The Firbolgs, under the leadership of Slainghe, invaded Ireland A. M. 2657, and divided it into five provinces, Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, North Munster, South Munster. They consisted of three tribes, called Firbolg

proper, Fir Gailian, Fir Domhain. They came, we are told, from Great Britain. After a dynasty of nine kings, whose reigns lasted about eighty years, they were subdued by the Tuatha Dea Danann, but continued for many centuries to hold some territory, especially in Connaught and Leinster. So late as last century, O'Flaherty could name, he says, families then existing, descended from the Firbolgs.

The Tuatha Dea Danann, the next invaders, A. M. 2737, came, we are told, from North Britain, after many peregrinations on the continent, too numerous to be particularized. Of the Danann, it is to be observed, that they disappear almost totally from bardic story, immediately after their subjection by the Milesians, A. M. 2935. No genealogies are traced to them, but the fame of their heroes, their learning and arts, the great fortresses they built, and the number of woods they felled, and plains they fertilized, are to this day a proverb in Ireland. Some traditions say that they spoke the Teutonic language.

The bardic story of the Milesian family is briefly told. They came from Spain, and having conquered the Tuatha Dea Danann, partitioned the island between them. Ir had Ulster; Eiber, North Munster; Ith, South Munster; but the bards are at a loss to decide what portion remained for Eremon, some assigning the north, others the south, others, more probably, Leinster and Connaught. What is historically certain is, that in the 3rd or 4th century of our era, clans calling themselves, then, or subsequently descendants of Ir, Eber, Ith, and Eremon, did occupy the parts of the island, assigned to them in this partition. From the four patriarchs sprung a line of kings, who ruled Ireland as monarchs, or ardrigh, for more than a thousand years before the Christian era; but about that period, the plebeian Irish, gathering spirit after a slavery of 40 generations, rose against their Milesian masters, and not having the dread of law before their eyes, did treasonably cut off nearly the whole of the royal race, and place one of their own plebeian blood on the throne. The seasons, however, conspired against the rebels; the pastures gave no grass, and of course, the cows no milk; the hazel trees no nuts, or the red earth no grain; so the repentant rebels were compelled to send a suppliant embassy to the few remaining scions of the royal stock, begging them graciously to

return, and allow the kingdom once more to flourish under their shade. They did return, and precisely about this period of the restoration of the Irish monarchy, the island is again divided into the same five provinces, established more than 1500 years ago by the Fírbolgs. After this restoration of the royal line, the pentarchy subsisted until the reign of Tuathal the Welcome, A. D. 130-160, who, to consolidate his throne after a second rebellion of the plebeians, founded for himself the ancient province of Meath, by cutting off a portion of each of the five provinces, which formerly met at Uisneach hill, in Westmeath. Hitherto, members of the four Milesian lines had shared the royal succession, but from this period it gradually became restricted to the Eiremonians; and from the reign of Niall of the Nine hostages, A. D. 400, to that of Brian Boróimhe exclusive, none but the Hy Níall, i. e. Eiremonians, swayed the royal sceptre. Such are the chief outlines of the elaborate superstructure, compiled with more than the patience of a Dutch Bollandist by O'Flaherty, from all the accessible bards and annalists of his day.

The fable has its episodes. From time to time, a people, powerful by sea, descend on the Irish coasts, and endeavour to establish themselves in the estuaries, especially in the north. As "Fomóire," the name by which they are known, literally signifies "seafaring," it supplies no grounds for conjecturing the quarter whence they came. The general tendency of the references to them, is decidedly favourable to their northern origin; and more than once it is expressly asserted, that they came from Finland. Keating, it is true, states that they were sons of Cham, and came from Africa, which appears to favour the opinion so popular at the close of the last century, that the Irish coasts were, in ancient days, colonized by Phœnicians. If so, it does not rest on authority as certain as the trading settlements of the same people, in the south of Britain, though it can be proved on foreign testimony, that Ireland was not unknown to the Carthaginians, and better known by merchants generally, than Britain, at least in the days of Tacitus. Neither the Irish language, however, nor customs, nor any relics of ancient civilization, place the intercourse of the Tyrian sea-rovers with Ireland, beyond the reach of very reasonable doubts. Another feature which diversifies the monotonous routine of bardic story, is a record of three distinct emigrations from Ireland to Alba,

i. e. modern Scotland ; first of the Picts, who went over in the days of Heremon, by whom they were driven out ; second, of the Dailraidians, in the 3rd century of the christian era, to whom the royal line, and many nobles of Scotland traced their origin ; and third, of the sons of MacErc, who passed over about the time of St. Patrick.

A simple enumeration of the various systems propounded by Innes, Pinkerton, Moore, and many others on this prehistoric part of Irish story, would be a very laborious, and by no means interesting task, both because like most similar themes, it is involved in almost hopeless obscurity, and still more from a defect of dignity and variety in the theme itself, the story of every succeeding age and tribe being nearly the same as its predecessor.

One thing, however, must forcibly strike the most heedless investigator, namely, that the historians of the 17th century, Keating and the Four Masters, had a better knowledge of Irish affairs before the christian era, than the most respectable of ancient Irish annalists. An abbot of the parent monastery of Clonmacnoise, compiled before the close of the 11th century, a volume of annals, which clearly prove, even in their mutilated shape, that he must have had the command of an extensive classical library, and that he knew well how to use his materials. Now if there was one place in Ireland where it might be expected the most copious and authentic collection of Irish history was deposited, that place was certainly Clonmacnoise. To this day it presents, even in its ruins, a more imposing monument of pure Irish civilization, than any other place in the island. It was the burial place of several kings from all the provinces ; a favourite resort of pilgrims, and though it did not always escape, its central and solitary position on the banks of the Shannon, nearly encompassed by melancholy bogs, enabled it to enjoy comparative security. Surely the abbot of this house could not be ignorant of the history of his country, and would not willingly consign it to oblivion. Yet the very first touch of his pen banishes to the realms of fable all that the bards had dreamed of Milesian story, antecedent to the year before Christ 300, and so far from attempting to give a consecutive Irish history after that period, he merely records a naked catalogue of the kings of Ulster, who reigned in the palace of Emania, near Armagh. Of the kings of Tarah, i. e. Ireland, he mentions not one before Labraid Loingseach, who reigned, he

says, about 70 years before Christ, and was the founder of a dynasty of 30 Leinster kings of Ireland. Then come the names of four kings in succession, Duach Daltadegha, Eochaid Airemh, Eochaidh Feidloch, and Conaire Mor. Of the three former he gives only the names, but in the reign of Conaire, (contemporary with the birth of Christ,) the island was divided into five provinces. From Conaire to Tuathal the Welcome, A. D. 160, he records the names of five kings of Tarah, and nothing more, except that the immediate successor of Conaire, Lugard Reonderg, A. D. 79, was the first of a dynasty of kings of the northern half of the island, commonly called Leath Cuin. Thus Tigernach's history of Ireland, before the year A. D. 160, may be compressed into these lines, viz., a catalogue of Ulster kings; the names of eleven kings of Tarah; the partition of the island into five provinces, about the commencement of the christian era, and the establishment of two dynasties of kings, one commencing about seventy years before, the other fifty or sixty years after the birth of Christ.

So meagre a skeleton of Irish antiquities was not agreeable to those who loved the pompous and full blown fables of the bards. Tigernach's authority should be set aside by some means or other. He did not intend, it was said, to give a full history, but merely a few notices of the most prominent facts. But his history is the best interpreter of his intentions. If he had known a correct catalogue of kings of Ireland, why not give them, rather than the catalogue of provincial kings of Ulster? Why take the building of the provincial fort of Ulster, about 300 years before the christian era, as the glimmering dawn of Irish tradition, rather than some great name in the bardic scenes of monarchs of the whole island? Whoever takes the trouble of reading the first part of his annals, will be at no loss to discover the reason. Commencing with the reign of Ptolemy, A. C., he gives copious and correct records of Grecian, Roman, Jewish, and Christian events for the next 500 years; his notices of Ireland during that whole period, not filling one page in a hundred, but as he advances nearer to the date of christianity in Ireland, and after that date, his Irish facts begin gradually to occupy a larger space, proving to demonstration thereby, one should think, that if he said little of his country in earlier times, it was not because he disdained

to entwine her humble story with those of great nations, but truly because he had nothing certain to say.

All the researches of Irish literary societies tend to confirm the authority of Tigernach, and among them this last publication of the Celtic Society. Nay, the bards themselves rightly interpreted by a collation of their discordant rhapsodies, will be found to agree with him, that except perhaps a series of Ulster kings for a few centuries, there is nothing approaching to certainty in Irish story before the Christian æra. Taking in the first place the genealogists, we shall find that the stems of all the known tribes of the Milesian family flourished in comparatively recent periods. The Eiremonians were divided into three principal branches: the Leinster, the Northern (Leath Cuin), and the Deogadh or Ernaan branch. The Leinster were descended from Labraid Loinseach, A. D. 70 (cir); the Deogadh, from Deag, about the same period; and the Northern from Lugaidh Reonderg, A. D. 74; Labraid and Lugaidh, being according to Tigernach, founders of two dynasties of kings. All the known descendants of Ir, traced their descent from Ruadhri, king of Ulster, about the middle of the first century before Christ. The genealogical stem of the Ithians and Eiberians, branches at a much more recent period, all the former being descended from Lughaid Maccon, A. D. 240, and all the latter from Olill Olum, A. D. 237. Thus of all the Milesian tribes who possessed any territory in historic times, the origin is not traced farther back than to about half a century before the christian æra. It is true a long chain of bardic genealogies connects Labraid Loinseach, and Lugaidh Reonderg and Ruadhi, and Deag, and Lughaid Maccon, and Olill Olum, with the Milesian patriarchs, Eiremon, Eber, Ith, and Ir—but all these genealogies bear, according to Charles O'Connor, evident marks of bardic forgery. It appears, therefore, that whatever truth may be contained in the genealogical tables, they would not carry back the probable dawn of Irish history to a period more remote than that in which Tigernach records the division of the island into five provinces, about the commencement of the Christian æra.

Evidences to the same effect may be collected from another species of bardic literature, which flourished with unusual exuberance in ancient times. The history of all famous localities was regularly chronicled; every mound,

and rath, and cavern was associated with the name of some hero or clan. The cemeteries of the Pagan kings are described in some of the oldest Irish manuscripts extant, and it may easily be supposed that more credit can be given to such documents, which had as it were their lasting interpreters and vouchers in the monuments themselves, than to a branchless line of genealogical names. Now in these sepulchral records, the most ancient name occurring in the Eiremonian line, is the same Labraid Loinseach, who was buried at Cruachan in Connaught: the first Eiremonian of Leath Cuin, buried on the banks of the Boyne, was a son of Lugaídh Reonderg; and the burial place of the Deogadh or Ernaan Eriemonians, took its name from Deag or Erna. Had there been Eiremonian kings before these, is it probable that the topographical gossip in which the Irish literati loved so dearly, would not have named the cemetery where they were interred? The hero who gave his name (Dergthene) to the Eiberians is only a few generations anterior to their common parent, Olill Olum. The king of Ulster alone appears to acquire an antiquity from the history of the cemeteries, greater than that of their common genealogical stock Ruadhri, for it is said that the famous Ollamh Fódhla, his progenitor, had with his successors been buried at Tailton (Telltown), in the county Meath. And this is not the only reason for believing that the descendants of Ir were the most ancient and firmly established race in the island.

To confirm still more Tigernach's date of the origin of the Irish patriarchal government, the reader may calculate the probable consequences of Cæsar's Gallic wars, and his invasion of Britain on the fate of Ireland. The Irish bards unanimously state that Labraid Luinsheach landed in Ireland at the head of a Gallic host, and succeeded in making himself master of the plains of Leinster and Connaught. The date assigned by Tigernach to this Labraid, would agree perfectly with the emigration of the Belgæ from Gaul to Britain, some years before Cæsar's invasion (*nostrâ memoriâ*). The rebellion of the plebeians of bardic story, occurring too at the same period, when stripped of its bardic dress, intimates clearly that there must have been times of disorder and revolution, such as would be caused by the irruption of foreign invaders. The division of the island was not, therefore, the voluntary act of a king, as the bards represent it, but rather the conse-

quence of the murder of a king, Conaire Mor, as Tigernach intimates, and the dissolution by invaders of whatever form of nominal government may have existed previously in the island. From all that has been said, it may be fairly inferred that if there be any truth in the primitive history of Pagan Ireland, it is contained in Tigernach: all that is known tends to substantiate his first statements: and judging from the past, all that now can be brought to light by Irish archæologists, will not add one fact to the few chronicled by him, before the day of Tuathal the Welcome, A. D. 160.

In any enquiry into the fabulous history of Ireland, the bards would have deemed it a fundamental heresy to question the near relationship of the Milesian patriarchs, Eremon, Eber, Ir, and Ith. The three former were sons of Milesius, Ith's brother. The same system of making the parents of nations, blood-relations was also extended by the bards to foreigners, as appears clearly by the following passage in the Irish edition of Nennius, lately published by the Irish Archæological society. "Now after the deluge the world was divided into three parts, between the three sons of Noah, viz. Europe, Africa, and Asia. Sem was in Asia; Cam, in Africa; Japeth, in Europe. The first man of the race of Japeth that came into Europe in the beginning, was Alanius, with his three sons, viz. Isacon, Gothus or Armion, and Negua. Isacon had four sons, Francus, Romanus, Britus, Albanus. Now Armion had five sons, Gotas, Uilegotas, Cebetus, Burgundus, Longobardus. Negua had three sons, Vandalus, Saxo, Boarus. It is from Saxo that the Saxons are descended, but it is from Britus that the Britons come." p. 33. Interpreting the story of the Milesian brothers by the principle on which this family classification is made, we infer that the only bond of brotherhood between them was probably their existence in the same country, and perhaps a similarity in an identity of language and institutions. The story of their family connection is not only improbable, but they were not even contemporaries if we may judge from the territories assigned to each race in the earliest ages. There are many probable traditional evidences all tending to prove that the race of Ir had long preceded the Eiremonians, and possessed the greater part, if not the whole of the island. It is admitted that the Irians reigned sole masters of Ulster until about the time of Lughaidh

Reonderg. In the other provinces they also possessed large tracts of bog and mountain territory, coextensive in very many instances, with the territories into which the Irish were driven by the Anglo-Norman invaders in the twelfth century. There was an old tradition that the island had once been equally divided between two Irian princes, and to this day the remains of two forts, one on the extreme northern, the other on the southern shore, are called by their names. The renowned Ollam Fodhla himself was an Irian, and progenitor of that race of Ulster kings to whom Tigernach gives so high an antiquity. Even the greatest traditional glories of old Tarah itself are associated with the names of Ollamh and of his Irian successors, and their cemetery Telltown was not more than half a dozen miles from that royal palace. But the circumstance which more than any other would mark out the Irians as a distinct race, is the fact, that many of the tribes are expressly called Cruithnians or Picts, by some of the most ancient authorities. From all these converging probabilities, it is not, perhaps, rash to infer, that Tigernach records the succession of Irian or Ulster kings, because theirs was the only race long established in the island, and enjoying, even when driven to Ulster by invasion, a considerable remnant of their former power, which never ceased to be respectable until the destruction of the palace of Eamania, near Armagh, A. D. 332, by the encroaching and then dominant race of the Eiremonians. It is a singular tradition, too, that the Irians ceased to be buried in their ancient cemetery at Telltown, about the very period which marks, according to Tigernach, the rise of the Leinster and Leath Cuin branches of the Eiremonians.

While so many circumstances establish the antiquity of the Irian race, the comparatively recent origin of the Eiremonians is proved by evidence that may be considered strictly historical, inasmuch as their permanent conquests in Ulster, Connaught, and parts of Leinster and Munster date no further back than the third and fourth centuries of our æra. It will be seen that there are strong reasons for doubting whether the Deagadhs or Ersnaans were really Eiremonians. Certain it is that authorities so old as the ninth century, denied that they were of that race. The whole territory of the Eiremonians would in that case have been restricted during the first and second century, to parts of Leinster, of Meath, and of the adjoining level

and fertile plains of Connaught—that is, the territories which tradition assigns to Labraid Loingseach and Lughardh Reonderg, the founders of the two chief Eiremonian lines. From the time that Tuathal the Welcome, A. D. 130 (who was fourth in descent from Lughaidh Reonderg), appropriated the provinces of Meath to himself, the gradual progress of his descendants to other conquests can be distinctly traced. His grandchildren acquired, we are told, large territories in Waterford, about the middle of the third century, and at the same time Wexford and Carlow fell under the dominion of the same race. Seventy years later, the entire province of Connaught was subjugated by Murdoch, one of Tuathal's descendants, and before the commencement of the fifth century, Ulster, with the exception of parts of Down and Antrim (still held by the Irians), had passed under Eiremonian sway. Thus in the course of two centuries preceding the advent of St. Patrick, three-fourths of the island had been conquered by Eiremonians, who were to all intents and purposes, the Elizabethans, Cromwellians, and Williamites of the day. To convince himself of this gradual and comparatively modern establishment of the Eiremonian power, the reader need not have recourse to recondite manuscripts. Its history may be collected easily from the publications of the Celtic and Archæological societies, and from the works of O'Flaherty, and the Four Masters themselves. This fact would explain the distinction which St. Patrick evidently makes in his writings between a dominant race which he calls Scotti, and the mass of the inhabitants, whom he calls Iberiones, or Iberionaces. The Eiremonians were, according to all appearances, the Scotti, though that name was manifestly adopted from foreigners, and never generally adopted by any class of the Irish themselves. Its etymology remains still a mystery. It was given by the Romans to those sea-rovers from Ireland, whose depredations were felt in the western provinces in the decline of the empire. It would not be difficult to prove from Irish documents, that those conquering Eiremonians were no other than the Belgæ or Fírbilgs of Irish tradition, who settled in Ireland during the course of the first century before Christ, but the details of that proof must be deferred until we have some publication illustrating the traditional history of the Eiberian race, which, like the Eiremonians, was also very probably of Belgic origin.

The treatise at the head of this article, though professing to give the history of the Ithian branch of the Milesian family, throws but little light on the traditional history of ancient Ireland. O'Flaherty complains that there was a hiatus of twenty-three generations in the genealogy of the Ithians from Lughaid Maccon, A. D. 250, to Ith; and Mr. O'Donovan makes the hiatus nearly double that number. The traditional story of the Ithian possessions is, that in the first partition after the Milesian conquest, the Ithians received as their share, that part of Munster which lies west of the line from Cork to Limerick, the district east of that line being the property of the Eiberians. The sovereignty of the whole province was enjoyed alternately by the two clans, until about the middle of the first century before Christ (the date of Labraid Loingseach), when the Ernaun or Deagadh clan of the Eiremonians (so called) invaded Munster, and held both Ithians and Eiberians in subjection for more than two centuries. The Ithians it is said never recovered their former power, but the Eiberians under their patriarch Olill Olim, A. D. 240, not only regained their former territories, but became masters of nearly the whole province of Munster. This story, so far as it assigns the south-west of Ireland as the home of the Ithians, may be received with some credit, because the earliest dawn of authentic history shows them established in the south-west of the County of Cork, and their descendants were numerous and wealthy in the present diocese of Ross, down to the Cromwellian confiscation. But that in ancient times they were confined to the south-west of Munster, may be very fairly questioned, for it may be asked, how are we to account, in that supposition, for the location of several Ithian tribes in the other provinces? How came the Ithian Calraidhe to be settled in the far Tyrawley, and the Ithian Laighis on the opposite shores of the Irish sea; the Ithian Dalmescorb on the western slopes of the Wicklow mountain, and the Ithian O'Flym in the bogs of Crossmolina; why are the Coscraidhe Ithians found in the glens of western Waterford, and other Ithian tribes in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, Sligo, Roscommon, and Eili O'Carrol in the King's County and Tipperary? The diffusion of these tribes is chronicled, but not accounted for in the Celtic Miscellany, nor is it easy to guess what could have driven them from their own sunny regions in the south, to the least inviting parts of other

provinces, unless we suppose that they had *not* been originally confined to south Munster, but that at some remote period they had possessed the rich central plains of the island, and were driven thence by new invaders to the bogs and mountains, until after the lapse of ages the largest remnants of them were shut up within the narrow limits of the diocese of Ross, just as the once wide-ruling Irians were confined by the same causes to a small tract in the opposite corner of Ireland. It is absurd to imagine that these distant settlements could have been made by Ithian conquerors issuing from the south, because conquerors usually do not select as their portion the worst parts of the conquered territory: and it is not consistent with genealogical tables to suppose that the diffusion of the Ithians was caused by forced emigration, after the conquest of Munster in the third century, by the Eiberians, because the reputed parents of those scattered tribes lived some generations before the Eiberian conquerors. The principle on which these speculations are founded, is attested by the history of many countries, namely, that the conquered retreated before the invaders to the remote and less accessible parts of the country. The whole history of Ireland, from the English invasion to the close of the reign of James I., is a decisive illustration of that principle, and it is well known that it is borne out to this day by the different strata of races in other countries, for instance, those that line the northern sides of mount Atlas, Berbers, Romans, Vandals, Greeks, Arabs, &c.

The reader will please remember that the traditionary declension of the Ithian power dates from the Deagadh invasion of Munster, A. C. 50 (circiter). About the same time, north-eastern Ulster also received a colony of those Deagadh, that is in other words, the Deagadh or Ernaans, are driven north and south, at the very period in which Labraid Loingseach was hewing out for himself a settlement in Leinster and Meath. Conaire Mor was of this Deagadh race: and it was after his royal Dun, Bruigean ua Derga at the foot of Dublin mountains, on the banks of the Dodder, had been sacked, and himself slain, that the island was partitioned into five parts, according to Tigernach. The probable inference is that the Deagadh or Ernaans preceded the Belgæ, and were not Eiremonians. There are other very strong reasons for believing that they were Ithians. Maolmuiri, a high authority and very

ancient (A. D. 850), traces the Ernai or Deagadh to Ith, and gives them the most prominent place among the clan, though in another place he appears to assign some of the most distinguished Ernai to the Eiremonians. Again, the ancient cemetery of the Ernai was in the heart of the original territory of the Ithians, and if the Ithians were not buried there, they were, the only considerable ancient race whose cemetery is not pointed out. The royal fort of the Ernaan Conaire Mor was called Bruigean ua Derga, i. e. "the palace of the descendants of Derga," who are classed by Maolmuiri in the Ithian family. These, it must be confessed, are by no means conclusive proofs of the identity of the Ithians and Deagadhs, nor is it likely from the defects in the chain of Ithian genealogies and the manifest contradictions in the parts extant, that the question can ever be placed beyond conjecture. Certain it is however, that if Maolmuiri be correct, the Ithians did include the Deagadh, and that they possessed before the descent of Labraid Loingseach, the greater part of the South, and strong settlements in the centre of Ireland. The genealogical series of the Ithians, such as it is, consisting of twenty-one generations from Lughaid Macon to Ith, would place that patriarch so far back as about half a century before Tigernach's date of the first Ulster king, A. C. 300, an antiquity remote enough for any reasonable antiquarian, and which, moreover, would agree very well with the hypothesis, that the Ithians were a later colony than the Irians, and drove them from the south and from the regal Tarah itself, to the less inviting regions of Ulster.

To many of our readers, it will appear, no doubt, that even Tigernach himself is to be received with caution, especially as the use of letters among the Pagan Irish is not placed beyond dispute. It should be remembered, however, that the chief facts which he records are of so public a character, that they could easily be preserved during one or two centuries by oral tradition, and as there are strong reasons for believing that Christianity had penetrated to Ireland so early as the commencement of the fourth century, and of course introduced letters, the few facts given by Tigernach could be thus transmitted.

In the mean time, it is surprising, while Irish "origines" are discussed with so much zeal, that neither of our Irish societies has yet published the provincial kings of the country in Pagan and Christian times. There are, we are

told, long historical poems on that subject, still extant, and surely they should be the foundation as it were of the entire superstructure. The happy idea of an exhaustive publication, like that on the Irish Picts, in the edition of Nennius, published by the Irish Archæological society, ought also to be followed up, giving together all that bards and historians have said of the different races and dynasties.

The later history of the principal branch of the Ithians, who were confined to the south-west of the County Cork, is given in considerable detail in the various documents now for the first time published by the editor. They illustrate some of the well-known workings of Irish life during the Middle Ages, and the miseries caused by war, confiscation, and famine, during the last three hundred years, down to the ever memorable year, 1847, inclusive. At page 384, commences a careful record of all the notices of the O'Driscolls, the chief Ithian family, extracted from the Four Masters, and other Irish authorities. It appears that immediately after the English invasion, the Barrys encroached on the eastern borders of the O'Driscolls; the O'Sullivans, who at the same time had been expelled from the rich vales around Clonmel, moved westward, and deprived them of a portion of the barriers of Bear and Bantry; the O'Donovon's, the O'Collins's, and other families, driven from Limerick by the same causes, seized the northern part of the O'Driscoll territory, and finally the MacCarthy compelled them to pay tribute for the comparatively small portion of territory left them by preceding invaders. Still they continued to make a considerable figure, especially by sea, their principal fort, Baltimore, supplying inviting facilities for that purpose. The castle had been erected by the English so early as the year 1215, but like many other of the early conquests of the Strong-bonians, it soon fell into the hands of the Irish "enemies," and became a formidable Algiers on a small scale, for interrupting and destroying the commerce of the king's liege subjects, in the southern cities of Ireland. A statute of Henry VI. to provide against these evils, forbids, under pain of forfeiture of all their property, any merchants of Cork, Kinsale, Waterford, Youghall, or Wexford, from fishing in the bays of O'Driscoll of Baltimore, or bringing either arms or victuals into his territory. If the annals of all these towns had been preserved, there would be

abundant materials for compiling a naval history of the O'Driscolls, if we may judge from the records which tell of their hostile relations with the city of Waterford. In the year 1368, the degenerate English clan the Powers of Waterford, aided by the gallies of the O'Driscolls, sailed towards the city with the intention of plundering it. The citizens, the English and merchant strangers, under the command of the mayor of the city, the sheriff of the county, and the master of the Knights of St. John, sailed against the enemy, but suffered a terrible defeat, having lost thirty-six of the most distinguished burghers, sixty of the English and foreign merchants, and their commanders, the mayor of the city and sheriff of the county. In 1413, the good citizens of Waterford returned the compliment, but in a manner that confirmed but too strongly the national proverb of Saxon perfidy.

"Symon Wicken, Maior of the citie of Waterford, Roger Walsh, and Thomas Saulter, Bayliffs, in the first year of his maiorality, with a band of men in armour, in a shipp of the forsaid citie, went on Christmas eve towards Balintimore, and in night on Christmas day at supper tyme, landed his men, and in good order came to the gate of O'Driscoll's great house or castell within the said haven, and called to the porter, willing him to tell his lord, that the maire of Waterford was come unto the haven with a shipp of wine, and that he would gladly come in to see his lord. Upon notice thereof given by the porter to O'Driscoll, the gate was set open, and the porter presently taken by the maior and put aside, and so the maior walked into the great hall, where O'Driscoll and his kinsmen and friends, sitting at boardes, made ready to supp, commanded O'Driscoll and his friends not to move or feare, for he would not, nor meant not to draw no men's blood of the same house, more than to daunce and drink and so to departe. With that the said maior toke up to daunce, O'Driscoll and his sonne, the prior of the friary, O'Driscoll's three brethren, his uncle, his wife, and leaving them in their daunce, the maior commanded every of his men to hold fast the said powers, and so after singing a carroll came away, bringing with them aboord the same shipp, the said O'Driscoll and his company, saying unto them they should go with him to Waterford to syag their carroll and make merry that Christmas, and they being all aboorde made sayle presently and arrived at Waterford, St. Steven's, at night, where with great joy received they were with lightes."—From the Casen MSS. p. 97.

In the year 1461, another descent of the O'Driscolls is recorded. In company with their hereditary confederates

the Powers, they mustered strongly at the now celebrated bathing place, Tramore. But the mayor, at the head of his full muster, rose and marched out to meet them, and gained a complete victory at Ballymacadam, having killed 160 of the enemy, and taken prisoners O'Driscoll, with six of his sons, who had the mortification of seeing their "western gallies" towed in triumph to the city.

In the revenues of the O'Driscoll, it will be seen that wine levied on foreign merchants, was a very respectable item: but he was not always content with what fell to his lawful share. In February, 1551, four Portuguese ships, laden with Spanish wine, consigned to the Waterford merchants, were dispersed by a tempest on the south-western coasts, and one of them was driven into a bay near the haven of Baltimore. The chieftain and his sons went on board, and covenanted for three pipes of wine to conduct the ship safe into the haven. "When the gentry and peers of those parts," saith our author, "had tasted the wines, they forgot their safe conduct, and invited the merchants to dinner in the castle, seized and clapped them in irons, manned their Irish gallies and took the ship, and distributed seventy-two tuns of the wine among their neighbours." The news had no sooner arrived at Waterford, than a small ship, well manned and equipped weighed anchor, and on the following day was alongside the captured merchantman, unperceived by her captors, who had barely time to escape at one side, while the brave Waterfordians were ascending on the other. Satisfied with the recovery of the ship and of twenty-five tons of the wine, the victors fired a few indignant volleys at the great hall of the O'Driscoll, as a foretaste of what he might expect from the greater expedition then preparing in Waterford.

"On the 27th of the same month, the mayor fitted out a little fleet, consisting of the ship lately retaken, another large vessel and the great galley of the city, well appointed with artillery, victuals, and men, to the number of four hundred, and put them under the command of Bailiff Woodlock, as chief captain, Tierce Dobbyn, James Walsh, James Sherlock, Henry Walsh, and John Butler, under Captains. On Wednesday the first of April, at night they sailed, and arrived within the haven of Baltimore, and anchored near the castle, which was guarded with men and artillery. They fired at it all night, and at break of day, the ward fled, and the Waterford men landed in good order on the island, and besieged the strong fortress there; the marines entered the castle by the small

port, and put up St. George's standard, and the army all entered at the bridge gate, and kept it five days, which they spent in destroying all the villages of the island, and also the house of the Friars' Minors, near the castle, and the mill of the same. The fortress being double warded by two strong piles or castles, with walls and barbicans, the halls, offices, &c. &c., were totally ruined to the ground, and were tumbled into the sea. There was found in the island great store of malt, barley, and salt. There was taken here Fineen's chief galley of thirty oars, and above three or four score pinances, of which about fifty were burned, and the great galley carried to Waterford. Near to Inishircan was an Island called Inchipite, where Fineen had his most pleasant seat, in a castle adjoining to a hall with an orchard and grove, all which they destroyed and razed to the earth, and from thence they entered into another island and burnt all the villages of the same. Then landing on the main, they burnt and destroyed Baltimore, and broke down Teigue O'Driscoll's goodly castle and bawn."—p. 95.

From the account of the revenues enjoyed by one of the chief O'Driscolls, it would appear that they were richer than many chieftains who make a more prominent figure in the Irish annals. An inquisition taken at Roscarberry, in 1609, before the protestant bishop of Cork, finds that the O'Driscolls tenantry contained sixty-five ploughlands; the chief was entitled to receive from strangers as well as from his own tenants, fourpence anchorage for every ship or barque entering the haven of Baltimore; he could buy (by right of pre-emption) five per cent. below the market price, any goods offered for sale in the said town or harbour, or if he refused to buy, the seller should pay him a duty of more than three per cent.; he had four gallons out of every butt of wine; all the empty casks; and a reduction of two-pence per gallon on all the wine purchased for the use of his own hall. No man could draw a net in the bay without his permission. All the wrecks within that harbour and country had been his time out of mind. Every boat fishing or selling fish, paid him 19s. 2d. in money, beside a barrel of flour, a barrel of salt, a hogshead of beer, and a dish of fish each day for the Irish abstinence days, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and if they dried fish there, they paid 13s. for the use of the rock. Every holly-butt taken shall be given to him for a ball of butter, or if concealed for twenty-four hours, the captor forfeits 40s. For every beef killed they pay 8d., for every sheep or pig, 1d. These, with many other harbour and other dues, such as 11s. 6d. for every bloodshed supplied a very copious

revenue for those days. The town of Kinsale used to appoint an admiral for the fishing season, who settled with the Lord the orders for the fishing, and kept an admiral's court every Monday, all the fines levied for infraction of these orders being divided equally between the Lord and the admiral, but if Kinsale did not appoint the admiral, the Lord might take the same course alone. The Lord had always the appointment of the constables, bailiff, and clerks of the market, in that whole country. But the O'Driscoll, though wealthy and powerful over strangers, was not independent. To "his strong neighbour," the Earl of Desmond, were paid at the inauguration of the said O'Driscolls, eight beeves or eight nobles sterling, to the Mac Carthy Reagh, between cess, black rent, &c., a far more considerable sum, and to the Bishop of Ross, £2. 16s. yearly, at Michaelmas and Easter.

From the inquisitions collected by the editor, it appears that the different branches of the O'Driscolls had preserved a very respectable portion of their ancient territory, down to the reign of James I., but the confiscations from that period down to the revolution under William the Dutchman, aided, it would appear by spendthrift habits of some of the chieftains, left their descendants no more than a shred of the property. During the wars which convulsed Munster in Elizabeth's reign, they appear to have acted the part of loyal and temporising subjects, until the landing of the Spaniards in 1601, when Sir Fineen O'Driscoll, urged on by those two imperious motives, saith the *Pacata Hibernia*, "Money and Gold," delivered up all his castles to the king of Spain, but they were quickly retaken by the English, and this Fineen himself it appears was received into favour. But he had let about that time, Baltimore, and his own adjacent territory, to one Thomas Croke, for twenty-one years, for £2,000, and the said Thomas, in the 5th year of James I., had that lease converted into a royal grant to himself and heirs, of all the rights and property of his lessor. A son and grandson of Sir Fineen, appear among the first of those emigrant Irishmen, popularly known as "the wild geese" scions of noble houses, who sought a fortune for themselves in the armies of the Catholic princes on the continent. Conner O'Driscoll, son and heir of Sir Fineen, was "a Captain in the Archduke's country, fighting against the Turks; "his son Cornelius was killed in an engagement of some Spanish ves-

sels, with the same enemies near the straits of Gibraltar, in 1619. The Irish bards mourned the absence and composed elegies on the death of these two soldiers of fortune, regretting that they had not rather spilled their blood at home, in restoring the fallen fortunes of their house. It is much to be desired that whenever we get so complete a family sketch as this volume presents, the bards will not be excluded. They enliven the dull details of genealogy and inquisitions, and let us know how people lived and felt in their day. The four poems on the O'Driscolls, given in this volume, are worth preserving, though they must lose much of their beauty in the very literal translation which the editor most properly has given them. A few brief extracts will show how the bards felt for the absent Conner and his son.

“ Twenty years and more besides
His back is turned to his native territory
The son of Fineen standing the brunt of spears
Without having partaken of the wine feasts of Erin.
On the stormy surface of the furious ocean
The vigilant son of Fineen has met
Hotter trouble in Turkey
In the fight of the wonderfully armed hosts.
Alas for the country wanting the aid
Of the victorious red hand of Conner ;
Alas for the native land that is deprived
Of the man of these warlike achievements,
The son abroad from his people,
The father in decrepid age,
A cause of deadly lamentation to that western land
Which sheltered the great blood of Macniard.”

Another bard, after recounting the ancient glories of the Ithian race, and dwelling with peculiar affection on their Spanish origin, tells Conner that hot work enough is to be found at home.

“ Many an eirie besides this
Due to thee, O heir of Fineen,
Without denial from the rough hirelings of the English.
It is a pity to brook the grievance,
Much of blood have they shed on the plain ;
Many heroes who should be lamented
They have slain for a long time back
Throughout the land of the Gael of the ripe fields

Spill them blood for these bloods,
O hand of battles, O'Conner,
Accept no eiric for them
But equal slaughter."

But the tones of indignation and defiance soon were turned into wailing, when the same messenger brought to the southern bays, news of the death of father and son.

"The land of the Turk exults
That they have quiet on Conners' deaths.
He lies till morning asleep
Without suspicion, without awakening.
The death of Conner and his father—
It is the anger of God which permitted it.
Hard to Erin is the loss
And perpetual the disaster.
There is not among the vigorous horsemen
(Their high spirit has been saddened)
A man who is not lamenting for them,
Nor a woman joyous in West Munster.
The brightness of the clouds of heaven has darkened,
The fiery lightning spreads,
No tree is seen bending with fruit o'er the stream,
Because my two heroes have fallen abroad.
The shores and the waves are
The moon and the stars are
In sorrow for the death of the heroes :
And the sound of the cataract grows louder.
Many even of the old English themselves
Have sunk in grief—no feigned grief ;
The fair Gael do for him
Weep ; nor of them need it be boasted.
Far away from the heroes are their trusted friends,
Far are they from the Church mould of Inishercan,
Cause of heavy sadness that they are so
Young Conner and his father."

For the fate of the remaining O'Driscolls under Cromwell's confiscation, and some notices of a regiment raised by one of them for James II., with the consequent penalty, the reader is referred to the volume itself. We close our notice in the words of one of the contributors to the miscellany. "The family of O'Driscoll having fallen into decay and lost every portion of their former possessions, it is not easy now to ascertain satisfactorily who is head of the clan. Most of this ancient sept may now be discovered

in bitter contests with the overseers of the workhouses of Skibbereen and Skull, who are more keenly anxious as to the minimum rate of food to keep alive the animal man, than the oldest and most calculating political economist of the day." Had these poor Irish been black slaves imported from Africa to the West Indies, with a Brougham and Wilberforce to plead their cause, their liberty would have been purchased for £20,000,000 sterling, but being only Irish, a loan of £10,000,000 was considered the full value of their lives, an extraordinary effort of generosity to save some of them from death.

There are two poems in this volume on the battle of Downpatrick, fought in the year 1260, in which Bryan O'Neal, King of Ulster, was slain with many chieftains of that province, and of Connaught. It was the first decisive blow struck by the English in the North, since the days of De Courcy. Defended by the natural features of the country itself, as well as by the superior spirit of its inhabitants (a fact acknowledged in the days of Giraldus), it had not only remained free from any English settlement, except in Down, but endeavoured to rouse the other provinces to a combined exertion for their common liberty. After some hereditary skirmishes with his neighbour chieftains, the O'Donnells, and the demolition of some frontier English castles, Bryan O'Neal held a conference on the shore of Lough Erne, in 1257, with O'Brian, King of Thomond, and O'Connor, son of the King of Connaught. The result, according to the common account, was a confederacy, of which O'Neal was the head, to resist the encroachments of the English, and expel them, if possible, from the land. This project, if ever seriously entertained, was not attempted until the year 1260, principally in consequence of the dissensions of the confederates, but in that year the King of Connaught marched to Ulster with the elite of his dependants, and joined his forces to those of Bryan O'Neal at Downpatrick, where the fatal battle was fought on the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension. The English were commanded by the Lord Justice Stephen de Longe Epee, and, as usual, had a large contingent of Irish supporters, on whom exclusively the blame of the death of O'Neal is thrown by some Irish authorities. In the words of the annalist, many of the "best and bravest" of the Irish nobles were left on the field, and the head of O'Neal was sent over to London as a trophy of victory.

Gilla Brighda Mac Namee, chief poet of Ulster, and a friend and follower of O'Neil, composed on the subject a poem, of which we give a few extracts in the literal translation of the Editor.

"Death of my heart! is the head of Brian
In a strange country under cold clay?
O head of Brian of Sliobe Sueachta,
Eire after thee is an orphan.
Alas that his noble face was removed from Down,
From the place wherein is the grave of Patrick.
There is in London, under a white flagstone,
A head which the Gael would dearly ransom.
All my cattle, though thou hearest it not, O head,
I would give to ransom thee.
He gave twenty horned cows
For my poem—a goodly purchase,
Were they twenty cows with golden horns
The honour was greater and better.
The war of the Gael with the foreigners
Was playing for a check of foreign chessmen;
The foreign pawns checked our chess king.
We cannot now escape defeat;
The top of our corn was cut down
By a hideous foreign horde of reapers,
Who came against us on Sunday to Down
When the crop was but to ripeness turning.
The foreigners from London
The hosts from Waterford,
Came in a bright green body thither
In gold and iron armour.
Unequal they engaged the battle
The foreigners and the Gael of Tara.
Fine linen shirts on the race of Con,
And the foreigners in one mass of iron."

Though our poet denounces the foreigners, it is very clear that he had not very sound notions of nationality, and that even in celebrating the fame of a man who had aspired to be the liberator of Ireland, he never could rise beyond a mere bard of part of Ulster. He recounts all the victories gained by the ancestors of his patron, in several parts of Ireland over Irishmen, and even in his own Ulster, closing his account of these battles with this singular *refrain*, "alas! they were revenged upon us at Down." This little incident proves more eloquently even than the Four Masters themselves, how the very idea of

an island, one and undivided, and combined against the foreigner, had died in the national mind even at this early period, not fully one hundred years from the landing of Strongbow. The discord, which for so many ages was to be the lot of Ireland, could not be healed by the power of O'Neal, though, says our bard,

“The cow of a poor man was never brought to his house ;
The reliquary of a priest he never violated ;
What curse could have followed him, for which the battle was lost ?
There is no church against which he has sinned.”

After mourning for his hero, he introduces the other brave men who had fallen in arms with him, especially Magnus O'Cane, who was honoured by another poet with an elegy more pleasing as poetry, than most of those hitherto published. It is not so much the dirge of a national bard, as the genuine effusion of warm personal friendship for the slain, who was both his patron and foster brother.

“The tombs of friends are in the battle of Brian ;
Ruined is Eire from one conflict.
The side of the hill is full of tombs
Whereon the prophesied one has fallen,
Though to me each man is a grief.
For O'Cane, the yellow-haired, I most grieve,
He is the wound of the artery of my head ;
This is the blood which I cannot bear.
I gave great love, ah ! woe is me,
To him from the time of my fifth year,
Wo that I have not gone with my beloved,
Early, I loved O'Cane ;
We used to give the chieftainship in our sports
To him, when high-spirited youths,
We and the king, on the mound which he disgraced not,
Going thrice around it.
His stipend to me was always coming
Just as if we were his heirs ;
He had for me as much as for two.
Far are we for ever again from our gambols.
Order masses of each priest
For thy foster-brother, for O'Cane,
For the son of the king who bowed in each church,
Let the prayers of each mass be offered.
For mercy to thee in each church,
Were there a thousand students,

For our son of Ranah there should ascend
Psalm singing from each altar.
As the poetic art is hereditary to me,
For this white sided pure skinned man,
I shall chant a flowery dirge
In the hour of solemn prayer for his soul."

The bard then employs the fond superstition of his countrymen, which would not allow some of their favourite heroes to die, but spirited them away to some lonely cavern or mountain gorge, whence in due time they were to issue to battle for their country. But we must leave him, with the hope that archæologists may succeed in disinterring many similar elegies.

Two English pieces in the *Miscellany* are narratives by Sir Henry Dowera, of events in Ireland during the wars of Elizabeth. The first under the general title of "Relation of Service done in Ireland," is a panegyric on Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, under whom the author served. There is but little of novelty in the narration, as it agrees in all the main points with what is already but too well known of the iron and ruthless sway of Sir Richard, over the malcontent Burkes. There is not, perhaps, in the whole reign of Elizabeth, a name more execrated by the Irish than his, nor does Sir Henry succeed in wiping away the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, though he does prove very satisfactorily, that he was a successful soldier, ruling his province with the strong arm until the O'Donnell came to the rescue, and in a very short time swept all the English from the castles of north Connaught, and inaugurated a Burke of his own to govern according to Brehon law. The "relation" appears to have been written shortly after the recall of Sir Richard Bingham, and perhaps as a defence or apology for the atrocities laid to his charge. Whether it be from the comparative youth of the writer, or the nature of the bloody service in which he had been engaged, the narrative is tinged more deeply with ferocity, than the narrative of his own services some twelve years later, which was compiled many years after the general subjugation of Ireland, at the accession of James I.

At the close of the narrative, the Editor gives a genealogical sketch of Sir Richard Bingham's family, which by an unhappy coincidence is connected with some of the most painful passages in Irish story. It epitomizes the

history of more than one locality, which, during the late famine and evictions, witnessed more misery than the sword ever inflicted.

"Sir Richard left no male issue, and the representation of the family devolved on the eldest son of his brother George.

"I. Henry Bingham, Esq. of Castlebar, the son of George Bingham, Governor of Sligo, who was killed in 1595. This Henry was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, in 1632. He married a daughter of Mr. Daniel Byrne of Cavantecly, a clothier or merchant tailor, in Dublin, and the sister of Sir Gregory Byrne, ancestor of the Baron de Tabley. Sir Henry Bingham was succeeded by his eldest son.

"II. Sir George Bingham, who was succeeded by his eldest son.

"III. Sir Henry, who dying without issue, was succeeded by his half brother.

"IV. Sir George, who was succeeded by his eldest son.

"V. Sir John Bingham. He was governor and representative in parliament of the County of Mayo. He married Anne, daughter of Agmondesham Vesey, Esq., grand niece of the celebrated Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. He was an officer of rank on the side of king James, in the battle of Anghrim, and contributed to the success of William, by deserting his colours in the brunt of the battle. He died in 1749, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

"VI. Sir John—who dying without issue in 1752, the title devolved upon his brother.

"VII. Sir Charles Bingham, who was raised to the Peerage on the 24th of July, 1776, in the dignity of Baron Lucan of Castlebar, and advanced to the Earldom of Lucan, 6th October, 1795. His Grandson is IX. George Charles Bingham, the present Earl of Lucan, who following the example of his ancestors, has removed all the Burkes and O'Malleys off his lands, and commenced a system of agriculture, by which (though he may perish in the attempt, being overwhelmed by the rates necessary to support his hostages detained in the poor law prisons of Westport and Castlebar) he will do more to reduce the Queen's subjects in Mayo, in the reign of Victoria, than his ancestor Sir George, or the governor Sir Richard had done in the reign of Elizabeth."—pp. 228, 229.

Let us hope that the feudalism which has hitherto doomed all tenant settlers in Ireland, sooner or later to the fate of those whom they came to dispossess, may be extinguished before it can involve in similar ruin, the descendants of whatever English families may now be willing to cast their fortunes on the ancient patrimony of the Burkes of Mayo.

Besides the preceding brief genealogical sketch, there

are some fourteen pages of editorial matter, consisting principally of collateral illustrations of the text, taken from the *Four Masters*. Without intending to underrate the value of these illustrations, it may, perhaps, be open to doubt whether they could not have been dispensed with, and their place occupied by other pieces, either unpublished MSS. or printed works less accessible than the English translation of the *Four Masters*. Probably there is not a single member of the Celtic Society who has not in his possession, if not Mr. O'Donovan's edition of the *Four Masters*, at least the English translation by Connellan. A reference to either would direct the reader to the page or year under which the Irish version of Douckra's facts might be found, and would not such reference be enough when the object of the society is not to give editorial compilation, but editorial illustration necessary for understanding the text? A matter of fourteen pages injudiciously inserted in so large a volume might easily be passed over, if we had not more than double that number of nearly the same character appended to the second tract of Douckra. While so many folios of manuscripts are lying unpublished and the distress of the times is paralyzing the efficiency of Irish literary societies, members will be insisting more strictly that the greatest possible quantity of original matter should be given, leaving to better days the elaboration of these materials into a history of Ireland. But the acting members of the society must be the best judges of what their public requires, and the present hint is, with all due diffidence, respectfully submitted to their consideration.

Douckra's second tract, entitled "*A Narrative of the services done by the Army employed in Lough Foyle,*" illustrates a very important period of the wars of Ireland under Elizabeth. It describes the first permanent settlement effected by the English within the borders of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. These districts had, it is true, professed an occasional nominal subjection to the King of England, but with the exception of a very brief period antecedent to the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce, the north-western Irish were really independent. It was from them that O'Neil and O'Donnel drew the hardy warriors, who baffled during nearly ten years the whole power of Elizabeth, and attracted the sympathies of Catholic Europe to the cause of Irish fidelity to the Catholic faith. To effect a lodgement in these territories, and cut off the supplies of

the Irish by sea, Sir Henry Douckra was invested with the command of an expedition in the spring of 1600, the whole country from Lough Foyle to the Bann and Blackwater, being intrusted to his own special government. The expedition, consisting of 4000 foot, and 200 horse, sailed from Carrickfergus on the 6th of May, and owing to unfavourable winds did not make the entrance of Lough Foyle before the 14th of the same month. Having erected a fort at Culmore.

“On the 22nd of May wee put the army in order to marche, and leaving Captain Lancelott Atford at Culmore with six hundred men, to make up the works, we went to the Derry, four miles off, upon the river side, a place in manner of an iland, comprehending within it forty acres of ground, wherein were the ruins of an old Abbay, of a Bishop's house, of two churches, and at one of the ends of it an old castle, the river Loughfoyle encompassing it all on one side, and a bog most commonly wet, and not easily passable except in two or three places, dividing it from the maine land. This piece of ground we possessed ourselves off without resistance, and judging it a fit place to make our maine plantation in, being somewhat high and therefore dry and healthie to dwell upon; at that end where the old castle stood, being close to the water side, I presentlie resolved to raise a forte to keep our stoore of munition and victuells in, and in the other a little above, where the walls of an old cathedral church were yet standing, to erect another for our future safetie and retreate unto, upon all occasions. The two shippes of warre, therefore, (the country all about us being wast and burned,) I sent with souldiers in them to coast all along the shoare for the space of twenty or thirty miles, and willed wheresoever they found any houses, they should bring away the timber and other materials, to build withall such as they could; and O'Cane having a woode lying right over against us, (on the other side of the river,) wherein was plenty of old growne birch; I daylie sent workmen with a guard of soldiers to cut it downe, and there was not a sticke of it brought home that was not first well fought for. A quarrie of stone and slate we found hard at hand; cockle-shells to make a lyme we discovered infinite plentie of, in a little island in the mouth of the harbour as wee came in, and with those helpes, together with the provisions we bought, and the stones and rubbage of the old buildings we found, wee sett ourselves whollie, and with all the diligence wee could possible, to fortefying, and framing, and setting upp of howses, such as we might be able to live in, and defend ourselves when winter should come, and our men be decayed, as it was apparent it would be: and whether this was the right course to take or noe, let them that saw the after events be the judges of.”—pp. 238, 239.

Thus were laid on the ruins of the ancient abbey and churches of St. Columba, the foundations of the English town of Londonderry, so famous in after years as the war cry of Protestant ascendancy. But all the precautions of Sir Henry, aided even by regular supplies from Dublin, would have been insufficient to maintain his ground, if the never-failing auxiliary of Irish discord had not come to his relief. In a few months, his effective force had been reduced to three thousand, but to compensate this loss, Sir Arthur O'Neale, allured by the promise of the earldom of Tyrone, came over to the English; the example was followed not long after, by some of the O'Dogherties of Inishowen, and by Nial Garbh O'Donnell, (Neal Garvie,) who was promised the chieftaincy of Tyr Connell. By the aid of these deserters, and the landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale, which drew off the two most formidable enemies in the North, Douckra was enabled to hold his ground, and fulfill his commission. The differences between his narrative and those of the Four Masters and Philip O'Sullivan are trifling, a circumstance fortunate for him, as the eagerness with which he vindicates the policy and success of his measures, might have exposed him to suspicion.

His narrative breathes none of that bigotry which is so generally associated with the struggle in which he was engaged. In truth, it would not be easy to ascertain from his tract what religion he professed; and the greatest feat of vandalism recorded by him, was perpetrated (under his orders,) by Niel Garbh O'Donnell. A great number of convents, especially of the Franciscans, remained unmolested through the whole reign of Elizabeth. Of these the most celebrated, was the convent of Donegal, which would seem to have been selected as a repository for the sacred wealth of less fortunate houses, as it possessed in the year 1600 forty suits of vestments, many of which were of the richest and most elaborate materials, and no less than sixteen silver chalices. Taking advantage of the absence of O'Donnell, Douckra planned an expedition to take possession of this convent as a military post.

"I found by O'Donnell's absence, the country behind him was left without guard; the Abbey of Dunegall was kept only by a few fryars; the situation of it very close to the sea, and very convenient for many services, especiallie for a step to take Balbyshammon with—I concluded, therefore, and sent him away (the said Neale Garvie,) with five hundred English soldiers, to put themselves into

this place which they did on the 2nd of August. On the 6th of August, I received a supply of two hundred bundells of match from Sir Arthur Chichester, from Knockfergus, and my lord (Mountjoy) having shortly after performed at Blackwater what his intentions were, according to the opportunitie of that time withdrew his army; and then O'Donnell, with those forces he had, returned and laid siege to those men, which continued at least a month, and in the mean time, on the 19th of September, the abbay took fire by accident or of purpose, I could never learn, but burnt it was all save one corner into which our men made retreat, and through the midst of the fire were forced to remove their provisions of victuell, and the very barrells of powder they had in store. Captain Lewis Oriell, Commander-in-Chief. The face of this night's work, (for the fire began in the evening,) is easier to imagination to behold, O'Donnell's men assailing and ours defending, the one with as much hope, the other with as good a resolution, as the accident on one'side, and the necessitie on the other, gave occasion for."—pp. 255, 256.

After the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale, O'Neil, the veteran chieftain, effected his retreat safely to his strongholds in the North. The following extract gives a vivid picture of the natural fortress from which he had so long baffled all the armies sent against him. When one looks at the ordnance map of the county of Tyrone, and finds the whole tract of land, stretching from Dungannon to the Bann, the Blackwater and Lough Neagh thickly dotted with homesteads, it requires no slight effort of fancy to imagine the same tract, such as it appeared 250 years ago to Douckra, from the hill on which he took his observations. The terror of the Irish recreant crew, when they found themselves approaching the last retreat of the greatest of the O'Neil's, confirms what all accounts represent as the almost superstitious power which his name possessed over the minds of his northern countrymen. An enormous sum had been promised for his head, and yet the bravest and most politic of his antagonists complained that there was no chance of having him cut off.

"On the 18th of November, I received an advertisement from Sir Arthur Chichester, that Tyrone had betaken himself to the Glynnnes, and that his opinion was, if hee were well set on by both of us together, his heade might perhaps be gott, or at least he might be driven and forced out of that place; wee discoursed upon it by lettres, and agreed to giv the attempte, and on the 18th of December, with all the forces I was able to make, which was 50

horse, 450 English foote, 200 of O'Caine's, and 100 of O'Dogherty's Kearne, Neale Garvie being then and long before estranged from me, I came to Dungannon, which is five miles short from the entrie of the Glynnnes. The first day I lay still and gave advertisement onelie to Sir Arthur Chichester of my coming, whoe was, as I imagined, nowe come to the other side. The next day I went up to a mountain four miles off, where I viewed them with myne eye, and it seemed as wee were tould before, they were 10 myle broad, and 20 myle long, all covered with thick wood: and questioning with my guides about the course I should hould, to make my entry into them, I found nothing but variety and contradiction of opinion, and therefore, the next day after, at night, I appointed Captain Ralph Bingly, with 100 light English, and most of O'Caine's and O'Doghertie's Kearne, to go on as far as they could, and bring me certain word how the ways were. They had not gone above a mile when the Irysh mutyned, and for noe perswation would go any further, and O'Caine's men plainelie broke off and went home to their howses; O'Doghertie's returned to the camp, but firmlie maintained the wayes were not passable. Upon the 23rd, I held a consultation with the captains, and conferred with our guides in their presence, and thus by concurrence of voices wee gathered from them of the most certaintie, that there was noe waye possible to come near to Tyrone, but we must first for one day's journey, abandon all carriage but what we had on our backes, and incampe one night in the woodes; that at our first entrance wee must pass a brook, which if rayne fell, wee could not repass again till it ceased; that Tyrone lay plashed all around with trees, and had sent most of his cowes to Hugh Gillen where it would be in vaine to make after them. And demanding their opinions hereupon, they all agreed seeing the Irish soe backward, and these inconveniences withall, it were better to leave good store of Irish to ply him with continual stealthes, and they thought it would weaken him more, and be a safer course, than to attempt him with these mayne forces, and that at the uttermost it could not be above two or three moneths, before of himself he would be forced out of that place to a more open country, where he might be dealt withall better cheape. Yet, if Sir Arthur Chichester thought otherwise, and would on his parte resolve on a day to enter on his side, let them have knowledge of it, and all excuses sett aparte, upon perill of their lives, they would meet him, or lye by the waye. I presentlie sente away my lettres with advertisement of this resolution of theirs, and attending an answer on the 26th, I received one from him dated the night before, wherein he wrote he had heard but one from mee, and that was at my first coming; wondered at it, and desired to know my resolution, setting down four dayes longer to stay for it, and then if it came not to be gone; whereby it appeared that most of my letters were miscarried; for it was well known there had not one night past after I came, but I writ and made one

dispatch or other to him, and the next day our principal guide (to increase the suspicion,) came away from us and went to Tyrone. Another knowing that thirty cowes were coming to me upon the waye from the Derrey, went and intercepted them, and followed the same waye. A rumor was raised alsoe, that Neale Garvie had preyed the Liffer, and lastlie, our strength was nowe decreased at least fifty men that were fallen sick. The consideration of these thinges added to the former, made us then to send worde againe he should not stave upon us, for we were fully resolved to return home; and soe wee did, leaving behind us one hundred Irish, that undertook to be still doing upon him, and presently after placing a garrison upon the Band, (Bann) both to stoppe his traffique that was for many reasanes, that hee could not wel live without, as alsoe to prevent his escape by sea, if he should attempt it, as I was crediblie advertised he was in consultation to doe: *besides, I had entertained divers that severallie undertook to deliver me his heade. I knew Sir Arthur Chichester had done the like, and soe attending the opportunitie that time should offer, being come home to the Derrey, this bussines came in my way to deale in.*"—pp. 264, 266.

After this ineffectual attempt of Douckra and Chichester to capture the veteran chieftain, he succeeded for three months longer to keep his enemies at bay, but the spring promised him no hope of being able to sustain another summer's campaign, the young crops having been all burned down by the enemy, and his herds of cattle either captured, or driven for protection to the mountains which could not afford them subsistence. His faithful adherents had all resigned themselves to fate, and at length he accepted the terms offered to himself, not knowing at the time that the Queen, whose armies he had so often defeated had died, and that the object of the new sovereign, in pardoning and reinstating him in almost all his former authority, was to use him for a time as an instrument to keep Ireland quiet, under the new succession, until a gunpowder plot had consolidated the Stuart's throne, and enabled the faithless James to partition the broad lands of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, among Saxons and Scots.

The sudden change of fortune in favour of O'Neil and O'Donnell, imposed a very disagreeable duty on Sir Henry Douckra. He was now compelled to break all the engagements which he had made with his Irish auxiliaries, and to draw the English sword in securing the rights of those whom he had been commissioned, a few years before, to destroy. It was in vain that he urged the text of his instructions from government, by which he was ordered to

draw over as many of the respectable Irish as he could, and to promise to them on the faith of government, lands under English tenure, independent of the chieftains whom they had betrayed. The answer to all his remonstrances was curt and pithy: the good of the State required the restoration of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. He was compelled, in the first instance, to turn his arms against Niel Garbh O'Donnell, the arch traitor, without whose aid, himself and his gallant soldiers would probably have left their bodies under the ruins of the new English town of Derry. Nial, in his submission, had never dreamed of descending to the rank of a mere British subject: he aspired to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell, which had been promised to him as the reward of his desertion to the British camp, and that dignity he now resolved to take upon himself, according to the due forms of Irish inauguration.

"Neale Garvie (as I said before,) had a long tyme carried himself discontentedly, estrainged himself from me—hee did openlie and contynuallie contest with mee to have the people sworn to him, and not to the Queene; to have no officer whatsoever but himself, in his country: hee would not suffer his men to sell us their owne goodes, nor work with us for money, nor till or sow the ground anywhere neere us. Now, it fell out that, my lord (Mountjoy) wrote for Rorie O'Donnell (the new earl,) to come to him to Dublin. Hee being in Connaught, desires first to put over his cattle into Tyrconnell; my lord gives him leave, and writes to Neale Garvie, that he shall not molest nor trouble them; and so Rorie takes his journey. He was no sooner gone, and the cattle put over, but Neale Garvie, notwithstanding my lord's command, ceizes them as his owne, under pretents that they were the goods of the country belonging unto him. Complainte made, my lord writes to me to see them restored. I send unto him and he refuseth. My lord upon that, bids mee discharge him of his entertainments, and writes to him without delay, to come to him to Dublin. Hee growes more discontented and deferes his going. Thus it runnes on for at least three moneths together, and neather would he come to me nor my lord, nor by any meanes be perswaded to make restitution. In the ende, he assembles of his own authoritie, all the country at Kilmacrenan, a place where the O'Donnell's use to be chosen; there he takes upon himself the title, and with the ceremonyes accustomed, proclayms himself O'Donnell, and then presently comes to me to the Derrey, with a greater troupe of attendance than at any time before, and they styling him at every word, "my lord." As soone as I sawe him, I asked him how he was thus suddenlie stept

into the name of a lord ; he told me they called him so because he was O'Donnell. I asked him by what authoritie he was soo, and he saide by my lord deputies ; I badd him make that appear to me and all was well. Hee plucked out a lettre written unto him from my lord, about two yeares before, superscription whereof was this : "To my very loving friende O'Donnell." I asked him if this were all the warrante he had, and he said, yes. I asked him why he went not to my lord all this while, nor came unto me sooner, nor restored Rorie O'Donnell's cattle ; his answer was this, 'You know the whole country of Tyrconnell was long since promised me, and many services I have done, that I think I have deserved it, but I sawe I was neglected, and therefore I have righted myselfe, by takeing the cattle and people that were myne owne, and to prevent others, have made myself O'Donnell : now, by this meanes, the country is sure to mi.'—pp. 266, 267.

But "the country" was not sure to him ; he was threatened with imprisonment in irons ; was compelled to restore all Rorie's property ; and for his treachery to his name had no consolation but that of being the last O'Donnell who received from the Abbot the white wand of sovereignty over Tyrconnel, on the inauguration stone at Kilmacrena. He had no substantial reward save the property he possessed when he first met Sir Henry Douckra, and he died some years later in prison, where he was thrown by those whom he had so faithfully, and for his kindred so fatally served.

The other Irish chieftains who had joined the English, met with similar treatment : O'Dogherty was disappointed in his expectations of the promised chieftaincy of Inishowen : young Turlough O'Neale was told he should be strongly recommended by the Lord Deputy to the mercy of the late rebel, the earl of Tyrone ; and O'Cane found that he should still pay his rents to the same earl.

"In the meane time, my lord Hugh (the earle of Tyrone's eldest son,) and I went home together, and when wee came to the Derrey, I sent for O'Caine and told him what my lord's pleasure was touching him. He began presentlie to be moved, and both by speech and gesture, declared as earnestlie as was possible to be highlie offended at it, argued the matter with mee upon many points ; protested his fidelitie to the state since he had made profession of it ; asked no favor if any man could charge him with the contrarie ; said he had always built upon my promise, and my lord deputie's ; that hee was now undone, and in worse case than before he knewe us, showed many reasons for it ; and asked if we would

claime him hereafter, if hee followed my lord of Tyrone's counsell though it were against the kinge, seeing he was in this manner forced to be under him. In the end, seeing no remedie, he shook handes with my lord Hugh, *bad the Devill take all English men, and as manie as put their trust in them*, and soe in the shewe of a good reconciled friendship, they went away together."—p. 277.*

But the severest trial to which Douckra was subjected, was the personal sacrifices he was obliged to make of his own share of the spoils of war. The salmon fishing of Lough Foyle was to be the reward of him and his descendants for ever, for having planted the English flag on its hitherto independent shores. As soon, however, as the earl of Tyrone had submitted, an order from the Lord Deputy cancelled the grant, and the earl's men had full permission to fish the river. This and other indignities roused the proud spirit of Douckra; he sold his house and three quarters of land which he had purchased, and his company of foot, and his company of horse, for a smaller sum, he protests, than his horse alone had stood him in, and retired from the public service, in which he had played a part, not inferior to that of many others, whose descendants retain to this day the broad acres and populous towns with which they were rewarded. There is an air of honesty and candour in the greater portion of the narrative, that becomes a soldier: but however faithful he may have been to other parts of his instructions, he appears to have sadly neglected the order for *establishing the Christian religion*: his chief performances in that line consisting exclusively of the conversion of some Churches and monasteries into garrisons, which was indeed the only reformation hitherto introduced into Ireland, by the generals and clergy of the great Protestant Queen.

* Philip O'Sullivan describes Niel Garh, (Asper) venting his indignation in a somewhat similar strain: "*Aspero illæ tantum possessiones quas habuit priusquam ad Anglos defe cerat adjudicantur et baronis titulus offertur. Ille ira percitus titulum accipere noluît et in Iberuîam postquam rediuit, Dublinnæ in senatum ad regium consilium productus, senatores et gentem Anglicam asperrimis verbis exagital, non ab Anglis sed ab ipso, Catholicos fuisse devictos atque debollatos—a consilio et Anglis improbe et perfide cum ipso agi neque fidem impleri.*" *Inde seipsum quod unquam Anglis fidem habuerit execratur, dirisque imprecationibus devout.*"—T. iii. Lib. viii. cap. vi.

It is true, when occasion required, the conquerors could solemnly protest they had no intention of interfering with religious liberty. O'Neil, in one of his projected submissions, had stipulated on behalf of himself and his adherents, for the free exercise of the Catholic religion, to which an answer was returned with all the imitated air of injured innocence, "that there never had been any intention of interfering with his priests; a proof, says the national bard, Thomas Moore, that religion was not one of the causes of Irish war under Elizabeth; a proof, he should have said, of the unscrupulous mendacity with which the government of England sought to palliate the atrocities perpetrated in the name and for the establishment of the reformed law creed in Ireland. In no place where the English power prevailed, were the Irish Catholics allowed their public worship. The same injustice was continued under James I., and the same indignant denials of any persecution for religion's sake, were made by him and his ministers, and solemnly circulated through the Catholic courts of Europe, with all the pomp of a royal declaration, at the very time when the prisons of Dublin were filled with recusant Catholic mayors, magistrates, and burghers, and when Catholic bishops and priests were hunted down by the government marshals. The same spirit of craft and venom inspired succeeding governments, and appears this day in the person of Whig ministers, who so kindly volunteer their assistance to protect the Irish Catholic against the Pope, and revive by their insulting enactments, but to their own certain discomfiture, a deep and burning indignation, which can be controlled by prudence alone.

We take our leave of the Celtic Miscellany with a sincere wish for the success of the society. As it has outlived the last three years, fatal to so many projects: there is reason to hope that it will not die out, until it has either completed its mission, or at least diffused a taste which will not rest satisfied until the work is done.

ART. IV.—1. *Public Instruction in France under M. Guizot. Quarterly Review.* December, 1848.

2. *Récit complet des Actes du Gouvernement provisoire; par EMILE CARREY.* Paris, Durand, 1848.

3. *Rapport fait, au nom de la Commission chargée de préparer une Loi sur l'Enseignement, par M. JULES SIMON, représentant du peuple.*

4. *Loi sur l'Enseignement, suivie des Règlements d'Administration publique Décrets, Circulaires et Instructions Ministerielles relatives à son exécution.* Paris, Dupont, 1851.

5. *La Vérité sur la loi d'enseignement, par MGR. PARISIS, évêque de Langres.* Paris, Lecoffre, 1851.

6. *Premier Rapport sur les travaux du Comité de l'Enseignement libre.* Paris, Lecoffre, 1851.

7. *De l'Education, par MGR. DUPANLOUP, Evêque d'Orléans,* Paris, Lecoffre, 1850.

8. *Idées sur l'Education, par un Professeur de Philosophie.* Paris, Lecoffre.

9. *L'Education, Journal d'Enseignement élémentaire, pour les Ecoles et les Familles.* Paris, Rue Garancière, 10. 1851.

AT the close of the year 1848, the *Quarterly Review* published an article upon *Public Instruction in France under M. Guizot*. The author professed to write it under the immediate inspiration of that celebrated statesman. In France, it was generally believed to proceed from his own pen, and to those who are familiar with his style and productions, the circumstance seems by no means improbable. But whoever may have been the real penman, the paper itself could not fail to call forth great interest, more especially among our neighbours. The reader will not therefore feel surprised that we should place it at the head of our references, when purposing to draw his attention to the state of Public Instruction in France since the law which was voted upon the 15th of March, 1850. That law may be considered as the Magna Charta of French liberty, in regard to Education, for some time to come; against which were brought in array the whole forces of an infidel university, a legion of demagogues, nay, more, the enmity of many eminent Catholics themselves. Down to the present moment, there are not a few

amongst the latter who consider the above measure as a cowardly concession to the bad passions of the age ; whilst on the other hand, a Montalembert, a De Falloux, a Dupanloup, at the head of an intrepid band of staunch believers, maintain that the most has been made of the existing circumstances. Indeed, upon being duly referred to, the Pope himself has issued an answer favourable to the bill, and this alone is sufficient to quiet such consciences as may be over scrupulous upon the subject.

It has been the good fortune of the present writer to pass a portion of his life among many of the distinguished persons who played a prominent part in the late contest ; for years he has enjoyed their confidence, and through their kindness, as well as through means and papers of his, he has been enabled to glean information which otherwise might have been withheld from an Englishman. To both of these sources he intends to refer without hesitation, though at the same time, he trusts, with such discretion as may justify the confidence he alludes to. These observations he feels necessary, however, when about to contradict some of M. Guizot's statements.

It is now well known that when Napoleon founded his new university, he remodelled it in such a way as to mould the rising generations according to his own ideas of military despotism. The establishments which Catholic piety had liberally provided for Education in France had all fallen a prey to revolutionary fury ; and disposing as he did of large resources, the emperor found it no difficult task to ensure an absolute ascendancy to the new-born fabric. Besides this, a true scholar was then a rarity in France ; classical information was indeed at so low an ebb that Cuvier, the man who was the grand tool in this intended restoration, was frequently at a loss to find masters who could accurately write their own language. Such had been the fatal consequences of the storm which, during the short space of ten years, had covered the country with blackened ruins. It became a matter of necessity to select for professors and masters, men who, after giving up their clerical duties, had turned out to be a scandal and a shame to the Church. The hatred which such persons bear to their former profession and creed, is a well-known fact. One instance alone we will quote,—that of Daunou, who acquired great historical eminence. An oratorian when the French Revolution broke out,

he ardently espoused its tenets, and was afterwards named professor of History at the College de France, but carried to the tomb that bitter hostility to the Church which, to the last, he never failed to impart to his numerous auditors. To these circumstances we may, in a great measure, attribute the main feature of the Imperial University. From the very first, it bore the stamp of infidelity: though as long as Napoleon was hurried on through his unparalleled career of victory and conquest, this fundamental deficiency was hardly apparent. Provided the university furnished him with his usual supply of engineers, diplomatists, and agents of all kinds, he was not the man to search into their morals or religious principles. His chief object was to obtain an annual crop of officers to fill up the vacancies made by the bloody hand of war. His views being realized on this score, every other consideration was held in a secondary light by the great warrior of modern times.

But as soon as the Bourbons were restored to the throne, the infidel tendencies of the university were glaring enough. The pupils who yearly issued forth from her grammar schools scoffed at religion as at a superannuated system which had lived out its day, and was only fit for old women or children. Supported both from within and without, the university made use of its influence to grasp political power; it became the grand bulwark of opposition to government from 1820 to 1830: whilst—melancholy indeed is it to say—mere striplings considered themselves as heroes, if they succeeded in giving public and scandalous evidence of the utter contempt in which they held Christian belief of any kind. To produce examples at present, would be merely awakening sad recollections which are better consigned to eternal oblivion.

Such were the results of the system adopted in France, and which has lasted down to the present day. The State University had the monopoly of Education, and hence arose that heinous idea that the State alone was entitled to mould the nation according to its own particular views. The author of the article in the *Quarterly* maintains, that no other system was practicable at the close of the eighteenth century, because, “on the one hand, after, and even before, the year 1789, the sentiments and cast of thought which had mainly given birth to all these (religious) foundations existed no longer in France, or

breathed but feebly ; and, on the other, revolutionary governments and revolutionary legislation absolutely forbade their revival." Now, it is hardly possible to suppose, that M. Guizot should have ignored certain facts which flatly contradict this assertion. Though certainly the revival of monastic institutions was strictly forbidden at the period he alludes to, still a large proportion of the French population fondly clung to so much of religious education as they were enabled to acquire. Notwithstanding the jealous watchfulness with which the Imperial government prevented the Clergy from receiving any other pupils but those who formally engaged to follow a clerical life, there were many families who succeeded in smuggling their children—we must be allowed the expression—into the episcopal seminaries. Again, when under the restoration, the strong hand of power somewhat relaxed on this head, the schools governed either by the Jesuits or other Clergymen were so full that no room was left for new comers. Towards 1828, there were no less than one thousand pupils at St. Acheul, whilst the other establishments of the same kind numbered each between three and five hundred scholars. This we believe to be no mean specimen of what Religion might have even then done for Education in France, had not the jaundice-eyed liberalism of the period, spurred on by the jealousy of the University itself, caused such institutions to be closed, on the plea that they were not conformable to the law of the land.

On the other hand, may we not, in our turn, consider as mere sophistry the above affirmation as to the impracticability of religious educational institutions in France at the dawn of the present century, when we remember the numberless fetters with which the statesmen of the time had shackled the Church? Chain a man down to a pillar within a dungeon, and then tell him to move. Will you not be looked upon either as a madman, or a tyrant deriding his victim? Such was, however, the case with the Church. First of all, we find that the university is made the sole vehicle of instruction to almost every class of society, on pain of forfeiting many advantages important to their future condition in life, and then we are told that religious institutions had become impossible under existing circumstances! Secondly, the State binds the Church to bring up no other pupils but such as intend to

follow a sacerdotal calling, and then again turns round to say: "Lo! try now if you can give rise to any establishments similar to those of former times?" Can any one in his senses believe the man who wrote the lines we have quoted to be serious, unless he had a particular end in view?

This was the state of things when the elder Bourbons were hurried from their throne in 1830. Already, however, a re-action had begun on the question of education. M. de Lamennais, in his better days, had spread an alarm concerning the obnoxious tendencies of the monopolous university. A small, but chosen band, formed of Montalembert, Gerbet, Lacordaire, De Caux, headed the movement. Some of those distinguished men resolved to establish a free school in Paris, but their attempt was defeated by the interference of a police officer, who shut up the school. At that very moment, Count de Montalembert was providentially called to a seat in the House of Peers, through the demise of his father, and thus was the case brought before that assembly. We may date from that day the beginning of the crusade against modern infidelity, which has successfully ended in the law of 1850. It was then that the youthful defender of Catholicism in France reaped his first laurels. From that period, day after day, month after month, year after year, has he unflinchingly, strenuously fought out the great battle—sometimes standing alone, at others supported by two or three friends in the upper house, such as Beugnot, and Sauvaire-Barthélemy;—De Carné, De Corcelles, De Cormenin, among the deputies. By degrees, the episcopacy became ardent in the advocacy of the cause. As religion began to resume her long-lost influence, new adherents flocked around, and the Committee for religious freedom was at last established. The services which it rendered are now familiar to the Catholic world: but brilliant as may be M. de Montalembert's fate hereafter as a leader in Parliament, or a statesman in the Cabinet, the religious historian will ever dwell with delight upon this period of his lifetime, when at the very outset of his juvenile career, he resolutely espoused the cause of justice, religion, and liberty;—the cause of the weak against the powerful, of the ignorant against the learned, of the humble believer against the proud and scoffing infidel. We well remember the unfeigned astonishment of the

old Peers, brought up in the shuffling practices of courts, upon seeing him launch out into this new course. There were some who deemed him a madman, others a fanatical bigot, but many more thought him guided by secret motives of private interest. Who has proved the madman at last?

But whilst this was going on, the university was by no means dormant. Freedom of education had indeed been promised by the new charter; but the great object was now to delay, if not to render abortive, the fulfilment of that clause. The spirit of the middle and lower classes, still so inimical to the Church, through the years which followed upon the revolution of 1830, first proved a sufficient barrier against the righteous plea of the French Catholics. When this was exploded as being worn out, the several ministers of public instruction—and M. Guizot among the others—came forth with bills which they knew would be rejected with disdain, as inefficient for the intended reform. But above all, the positive antagonism of Louis Philippe to the measure, was by far the most formidable obstacle. Had he continued to reign, freedom of education would have still been withheld, if it be true that he had pledged himself not to sanction any bill of the kind as long as he should live. Perhaps the real ground of his obstinate resistance was the certainty that a generation brought up under the influence of religious principles would have turned a deaf ear to those solicitations of private and political corruption that formed one marked feature of that prince's reign. Upon that corruption he seems to have rested as on a firm basis of his throne: time has evinced the fallacy of his calculations. But peace be to his tomb! Providence has visited him with afflictions which have descended unto his children's children.

The contest, however, was becoming hotter and hotter on each side. The university felt keenly that the competition of the clergy in the education of youth would finally determine the fall of her influence and power, notwithstanding the numberless means which she disposed of to prop up the old system. Consequently, measures were taken in order to oppose a strong barrier to the rising tendencies: the oligarchial members of the council of public instruction were selected in such a way as to ensure the ascendancy of the university principles, even against

any minister who might show himself favourable to the cause of liberty. Within that council M. Cousin held the sway, and through him, by this small body of eight councilors, the minister of public instruction was himself kept at bay. The latter felt at last the yoke so heavily that, towards the close of Louis Philippe's reign, M. de Salvandy found himself compelled to assert his own constitutional independence, by modifying the organization of the council.

But the most pernicious effects of this system became more particularly manifest in the colleges or grammar schools. Through Cousin's influence, M. Dubois was maintained at the head of the Normal school in Paris, which provided professors for all France. He is well known to be a man of Voltairian principles, and the consequences of his direction may be traced in the fact that, when the late revolution broke out, a large proportion of the pupils enlisted under the banners of Socialism, a circumstance which filled the whole country with dismay. It stands to reason that the professors of history and philosophy generally leaned to that eclecticism which M. Cousin had introduced as the very apex of human wisdom. Under his guidance, some of his more immediate disciples such as Saisset, Jules Simon, and Franck, undertook to publish the principal works of the most celebrated philosophers, with the accompaniment of notes and introductions which seemed destined to breed infidelity within the hearts of such youths as would venture to read them. These cheap publications were ushered into the literary world with due honour and ceremony, and attended with extraordinary success.

But at this juncture, Providence brought down the whole fabric with a crash, that humbled to the dust those who were intent upon rearing it to the very skies. One of M. Cousin's most distinguished pupils, M. Jouffroy, died, leaving behind him some manuscripts on philosophical questions. He had long been a professor at the Sorbonne, and was one of the most popular teachers. His old master offered to revise these manuscripts for publication, but great was his astonishment to find whole pages, wherein Jouffroy lamented, in strong and touching language, the loss of his faith, and the utter inability of his philosophical tenets to determine anything concerning a future state, and the immortality of the soul. This was, indeed, a severe blow. What was to be done? M. Cousin, trust-

ing that he alone was in possession of the secret, boldly decided upon omitting the obnoxious passages. It so happened, however, that M. Pierre Leroux, the celebrated Socialist, and a sworn enemy to the eclectic school, had also obtained communication of Jouffroy's productions. When the spurious publication was issued forth, he immediately wrote a bitter article in the *Revue Indépendante*, in which he restored the suppressed manuscripts. The effect, as well may be imagined, was astounding, and Cousin never quite recovered from the shock. This brought to light several other circumstances of his private life, circumstances which by no means did him any credit. It is, indeed, a curious incident of this remarkable period, that M. Cousin's opponents were secretly abetted by his most favoured disciples, who generally accused him of insincerity, as well as of a constant tendency to acts of arbitrary power.

But still the university did not, in the least, abate its efforts to uphold its monopoly *per fas et nefas*. Obstacles of every species were thrown into the way of those who were desirous of founding new establishments upon the free principle. Clergymen, who had fulfilled all the obligations imposed by the prevailing system, were suffered to wait for years before they could obtain the long wished for permission, too happy, indeed, when they obtained it at all. "Under the late government," says the Bishop of Langres, in a recent publication, "I myself solicited, during no less than fourteen years, the permission to open a private school, upon a most limited scale, though the establishment offered the best possible conditions, and was situate in a part of the country where such a school was decidedly wanted." (*La vérité sur la loi d'enseignement*, p. 46.) And the venerable Bishop adds, that the university had jealously kept to herself the monopoly of these institutions, ever dispensing any exception to the rule with the most sparing parsimony. Now, if such was her conduct towards a man of parts and eminence like Mgr. Parisi, who would believe that her despotism did not weigh still more heavily upon the backs of those who could dispose neither of his means nor interest?

Yet even this was not all. The most influential periodicals and journals teemed constantly with praises of the university; its system was hailed as the offspring of a

genius, unparalleled in any time, as a legacy of that Napoleon who had conquered Europe for France; as a sacred relic of that revolution to which the whole nation was wont to cling with the most devoted fondness. Nay, religion herself was made to chime in with the general outcry against the profane invaders of the *Sancta Sanctorum*. A whole host of chaplains and religious observances within the walls of the schools were brought forward, to show that, even on this score, the university was not behind-hand. Were not the pupils taken to Mass every Sunday? Were they not solicited to go to confession and communion? To be sure, the professor of history and philosophy might have his own private opinions, but *his* was the demesne of science and learning; *his* was not the duty to reconcile philosophical tenets or dogmas with religious practices. The spirit of the age, besides, was decidedly enlisted on the side of the free-thinkers, or, at least, indifferent thinkers: no power under heaven would gainsay such a plain matter of fact assertion as this.

The courts of justice, in their turn, were set at work to protect the laws of the land. It being once admitted that the university was the state itself, undertaking to teach youth, woe to such writers who ventured to deal too roughly with the monopoly! Many an author was prosecuted and fined for publishing *brochures* upon the subject. And as the pertinacious resistance of the Catholics still gained ground, the old cry of Jesuitism and absolutism was renewed, in order to goad into fury, the passions of the multitude. Little did the blind provocators of this tempest imagine that, ere long, they would rue their efforts, by witnessing the overthrow of all they had cherished, supported, and defended. Little did they suppose that in one short year, a throne so long surrounded with approbation, so long upheld by the eminent talents of the most consummate statesmen, would fall to the ground, burying under its ruins their fondest hopes and most sanguine expectations.

The present sketch would not be complete, were we to pass unmentioned what the Orleans dynasty did for popular education. This was more particularly the achievement of M. Guizot, and the principal weight of the article in the Quarterly Review bears upon this part of the question. When that able minister undertook the direction of the educational department, the primary schools were in a

most melancholy condition. If one excepts the establishments headed by the Christian Brothers, it will be no calumnious imputation to affirm that the instructors of the people were almost universally below their condition. Many of them combined trades of sundry sorts and kinds with their duties as schoolmasters, sometimes leaving the hammer of the blacksmith, or the form of a tailor, nay, even the tap-room of the publican, for the alphabet and catechism. Too often, indeed, did their conduct offer a scandalous contradiction with their calling, and the author of these lines has some reason to believe that even at the present day, this is no very extraordinary occurrence. Such was the shocking state of things when M. Guizot proposed a remedy. His law of 1833 became the foundation of a better, though by no means a good system, as it enabled the university to stretch her arbitrary sway over the whole population of village schoolmasters and institutions. That such was not the primitive intention of the minister we candidly admit, but the fact shows with still greater evidence, how strongly the monopoly was linked with every part of the social body in France.

According to that law, popular education formed two divisions; the one elementary, consisting of religion, reading, writing, the French language, and arithmetic: the other, of a higher cast, included the elements of geometry, with its application to the uses of life, lineal drawing, surveying, physics, and natural history, the rudiments of the national history, singing, &c.

Every *commune* or parish was to have its primary school. But at the very outset we meet with the startling fact, that a mere youth, eighteen years old, was at liberty to open a school, provided he had undergone an examination before the proper authorities. And as if this were not enough, this stripling is declared to be free from suspension, unless he had been guilty of some gross breach of morality, and then he was brought before a committee, (*comité d'arrondissement*,) to which was entrusted the superintendence of the popular schools. Even after the decision of the commissioners, the delinquent might appeal to the Board of Public Instruction, and the reader is sufficiently aware of the tendencies manifested by that omnipotent body.

Here a question naturally arises: What influence had the parish priest over the whole system? In what degree was

he allowed to interfere? The thirteenth article of the law answers, that in each parish a local board shall be established, with the view of superintending the parish school. The *curé* is one of its members, but as the mayor, usually some ignorant boor, presided, and no less usually sided with the master, who acted as recorder and secretary to his rustic worship, the influence of the pastor was so far neutralized, that he generally abstained from being present at a meeting where he was sure of having to encounter the most decided hostility. Indeed, M. Guizot himself provoked that very hostility, by the language he used in a letter addressed by him to the schoolmasters, on forwarding the bill to them. "Should it fatally happen," says he, "that the minister of religion should abstain from giving the schoolmaster marks of proper regard, the latter is doubtless not obliged to humble himself with a view of re-acquiring it, but he will apply himself to deserve it more and more, through his good conduct, and will know how to wait for it. The success of his tuition must disarm unjust prejudices, whilst his prudence must afford no pretext for *intolerance*. He must avoid hypocrisy no less than infidelity. Besides, nothing is more desirable than union between the priest and the teacher; they are both invested with a moral authority; both stand in need of the public confidence; both may agree to exert over children, though by various means, a joint influence."

Now, disposed as the popular teachers generally were, they considered these words as establishing them upon a footing of equality with the priest, and this principle was indeed strongly inculcated in their minds, during the ordeal they underwent in many of the Normal schools. From several authentic documents in our possession, we gather that such was one of the most fatal and apparent consequences, both of the ministerial letter and the law. In regard to the superintending committees, their watchfulness was next to nothing. A confidential and highly important communication now before us, and sent up to Paris by an official of many years standing, puts forth the fact in a most glaring light. In his eyes, the committees are usually formed of men who are utter strangers to the art of tuition; they consider the masters merely as agents, whose mission is to impart a few elementary notions of instruction; but of the moral influence the latter ought to exert over rising generations, they seem

not to have the slightest idea. This is pushed so far, that a master must be guilty of a most degrading fault indeed, to elicit from the commissioners any measure bordering upon severity. As for the delegates—another class of superintendents—their interference is set down as nought. “During a period of fifteen years,” says the official we are quoting, “not one single delegate has even been elected in my department; in fact, the institution of High Committees, though a fine thing in theory, because the law supposed them to be filled with men devoted to their duties, aware of what is really wanted in popular education, and austere in their habits of life, the institution has ever been attended with the most insignificant results.”

And then the writer goes on to show that every wheel of this boasted machine is utterly powerless to work out its intended destination, so that even such teachers as were really zealous in the fulfilment of their duties, soon fall into torpor and discouragement, from the want of that efficient inspection which might have supported them in their endeavours.

Now, it must be likewise remembered, that these statements do not proceed from one single person, whose opinion may have been biassed by local prejudices. In parts of France, most distant from the place where this gentleman resided, complaints of the same kind were constantly made, and the degradation of the popular teachers had become a subject of dread and disgust for all thinking minds. In another confidential document, penned by one of the most eminent and venerable men in France, who has made the education of the labouring classes the great object of his life, we meet with observations of a similar nature. “The committees,” says he, “instead of assembling once every month, as was required, hardly ever met at all, and consequently the Prefect and his clerks had all the business themselves. Many of the official inspectors, again, were not to be trusted; their mode of inspection was distorted with pedantry and bureaucracy; the conduct of the schoolmasters such, in many cases, that the parishioners evinced the greatest repugnance to receive them, and a no less great alacrity to part with them shortly after they had entered upon duty. In regard to the examinations, the official programme was by far too extensive, as it tended to make every teacher a man of learning, and thus to breed discontent within his breast, when he was once

settled down in a sequestered country village. Besides this, the examinations were conducted in the most arbitrary manner, even when the candidates were laymen, if they did not come from the Normal schools. The teachers were also far too independent—a most alarming evil,” adds the writer, “for on the one hand it obliges a parish to keep a bad schoolmaster, and on the other, he is himself freed from a salutary dependence upon local authorities.”

It would be useless and fastidious to multiply our statements. The reader has now before him evidence sufficient to show how far M. Guizot failed in his attempt to endow France with that moral popular education which it was his view to obtain. By haggling with religion as to her interference with schools, he virtually defeated his own views; by putting the teacher upon a footing of constant defiance with the parochial pastor, he opened the door to that practical infidelity which it was his sincere wish to prevent. In regard to the legion of municipal, departmental, and central authorities, established to nurture and provide for popular instruction, we can assert with reason, that they were totally inefficient to effect their purposes, that they clogged rather than helped the extension of knowledge,—that, above all, they were a real obstacle thrown in the way of those moral influences, without which instruction is but a sham, and education nothing else but cant. Singular though it may appear, yet the several ministers who succeeded M. Guizot in his station, at the head of public instruction, continued to the very last to proclaim the efficacy of the system; and as late as 1847, M. de Salvandy hailed, in magniloquent terms, the gradual progress of the French people in point of morality, intelligence, and information. The official agents of the monarch were thus lulling themselves to sleep by the murmur of their self-given encouragement, when the storm of February, 1848, brought them but too soon back to their own senses.

At the very first outbreak of that revolution which, in a few months, spread over the greater part of Europe, every fraction of the conservative party felt the necessity of combining their efforts to restore something like rule and order. Accustomed, for a long time, to habits of severe discipline, the Catholics soon took the lead in the movement. Whilst many a quondam liberal and infidel crouched before the reigning powers of the day, the latter appear-

ed in the municipal elections, in the clubs, in the national guard, in every place where there was either danger to incur, misrule to repress, or good to bring forth. Headed by their usual and most distinguished leaders, they soon rose to a degree of political eminence, which, since that period, has been constantly on the increase. Thanks to this new incident of the revolution, clergymen and bishops were elected for the constituent chamber. M. de Falloux was singled out for the ministry of public instruction, and a large proportion of religious youths, formerly belonging to the *Cercle Catholique* in Paris, were chosen for their zeal and talent, to fill stations of high trust and importance, either in the magistracy or the public administration. The current of public opinion now ran most decidedly in favour of religious principles. The blow, indeed, had proved a severe one, and many an infidel father have we known who rued the day when he had delivered up his son into the hands of a Voltairian university, that great Moloch to whom had been sacrificed more than one generation. This state of public feeling brought again the promise of a free system of education into the republican constitution, though under the superintendence of the state, it was added, by way of precaution. That this proviso was intended by the republicans to become, in time, a starting point of enslavement for the Church, may be gathered from the strong opposition they offered to the law recently framed upon the subject, as well as from the circulars which M. Carnot, a member of the provisional government, addressed to the primary schoolmasters, previous to the general elections of 1848. His official station at the head of the department of public instruction, made him thoroughly acquainted with their moral dispositions, and he was no less aware that their pecuniary situation would make them the ready tools of those who would flatter their vanity, and show them in the distance a higher remuneration of their services. For it was one of the great errors of the then existing law, to have fixed at 200 francs, or eight pounds a year, the miserable stipend of men who had often large families to support, and who laboured under the greatest difficulties. Now there were not less than 24,000 schoolmasters in France belonging to this class. Accordingly, M. Carnot came forth in the National Assembly, on the 30th of June, 1848, with a decree, purposing to establish a schoolmaster and mistress in every village; a

house, a field, a garden, a good salary, and a pension, were promised to each of them. All the children in France should be compelled to attend the schools, and a charge of forty-seven millions of francs, (about two millions sterling,) should be borne by the state, to defray the expenses of these obligations. M. Carnot acted very wisely in not binding himself to time as to the fulfilment of these wonders.

Indeed, this fine plan was but the continuation of a series of circulars previously issued by the minister, in which he had constantly excited the passions and vanity of the schoolmasters. As early as the 27th of February, 1848, one of these performances, which are hardly less notorious in France than the celebrated bulletins of Ledru Rollin, called upon them to increase as much as possible their own private information. They were not to confine themselves to the instruction they had received in the Normal schools, but every path of science must lay open to their ambition. Mathematics, natural history, agriculture, physics, would soon become a part of their accomplishments. "The interest of the republic requires," says the minister, "that every door of the university hierarchy should be thrown open as wide as possible for these *popular magistrates*."

By another circular, bearing the date of March the 6th, 1848, M. Carnot decided that the schoolmasters should teach the children their duties as citizens, thus introducing the unruly passions of the revolutionary club within the placid region of popular education. They were likewise to expatiate among the people upon their rights and duties in regard to the Republic;—to show their fellow-citizens whom they must elect for their representatives in the forthcoming parliament. "The greatest error," continues the minister, in a well known passage, "the greatest error against which we have to guard our rural populations, is the idea that either education or fortune is necessary to become a representative. As far as concerns education, it is evident that an honest peasant, endued with good sense and experience, will represent far better in the assembly the interests of his class, than a well-informed and rich gentleman (*qu'un citoyen riche et lettré*), who is a total stranger to a country life, or blinded by interests different from those of the great body of peasantry."

This sample is sufficient, we believe, for in the worst

days of the great French Revolution, can we hardly find an instance of such bare-faced sophistry, in which the advantages of ignorance are extolled over the rights of information and good breeding. And could any one be astonished that after similar proclamations, the schoolmasters should have turned mad? Once used as political agents, they launched out into all the varieties that distinguish the roseate Republican from the blood-red demagogue. As their most influential members signalized themselves by their anarchical tendencies, the nation gradually recoiled with horror from the sight, and this contributed perhaps more than anything else, to open the eyes of the French to the glaring delinquencies of the system of national education, which had been strenuously upheld so long. The re-action was universal—and indeed, as is ever the case on such occasions, the innocent suffered along with the guilty, from the general feeling of enmity which arose against this unfortunate class. That in many places the schoolmasters showed themselves, zealous, active, and unassuming, is a fact, which we ourselves have been able to ascertain through most impartial and authentic information; but the day was now against them all. The reaction had really begun:—God grant that it may be a lasting one.

Soon after the memorable insurrection of June, 1848, M. de Falloux became a member of a new ministry, and he, a most religious Catholic, a staunch defender of freedom in education, was placed at the head of public instruction. What could be more significant? From the very first, he considered himself as being called there,—as we have heard him say—for one single object, viz.—that of framing a bill destined to realize the wishes of all sincere Christians on this most absorbing question. To lose no time, he immediately summoned an extra parliamentary commission, so formed, that every opinion was represented within it by its most distinguished members. On one side we find the bishops of Langres, Orleans, Rheims, the Abbés d'Alzon and Sibour, cousin to the Archbishop of Paris; Montalembert, Beugnot, de Corcelles, de Montcuit, de Riancey, de Melun, Michel, Cochin, all ardent defenders of the Catholic opinion;—on the other, Cousin, Thiers, Dubois, St. Marc Girardin, Giraud, who were the efficient protectors of the old university system. At the very same juncture, the national assembly had likewise

elected a parliamentary commission, which was to discuss a bill previously drawn up upon the same subject, by M. Carnot, of which M. Thiers afterwards said that he would overthrow two or three governments rather than allow it to pass. The reporter, M. Jules Simon, is a professor of Eclectic philosophy at the Sorbonne. His report, which was read at the sitting of February 5th, 1849, was but an insignificant modification of the former legislation, and this alone would show what confidence was to be placed in the liberality of the Republicans in regard to education. It is almost useless to add that the above report never became a law of the country, or that every useful clause it might contain was afterwards embodied in the bill, now forming the ground-work of French legislation concerning this most important topic.

Thus, the whole interest of the case and the eyes of the country were concentrated upon M. de Falloux's commission, over which he himself presided. It would be needless to place before the reader the sharp warfare to which the debates of that commission gave rise in the journals of the day;—but as those very debates have never yet come to print, and as we have enjoyed the advantage of perusing some important notes made on the spot, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity to bring out such facts as may be of interest to an Englishman. Many a severe lesson may be read out of the documents we allude to; never perhaps did appear in more vivid colours, the danger of giving up into the hands of a centralizing government, the soul and intellect of youth.

A circumstance which, from the very first, struck most forcibly the commissioners, was the demeanour of M. Thiers. Instead of meeting in him with a staunch defender of the University, as he formerly had been, they heard him with astonishment proclaim at once his decided hostility to the prevalent system, more particularly in regard to popular education. Throughout the whole discussion, which lasted nearly six months, he invariably attacked it in the most bitter terms. On this new ground, he displayed all the vigour of his powerful intellect, all the poignancy of his keen satire, all the sound reasoning of a real statesman. Cousin, on the contrary, supported by Dubois, no less unflinchingly put forth his arm to defend, as was natural enough, the fond offspring of his own creation, the source of all his influence

and power. The antagonism of these two men became an inexhaustible source of interest and reflection for the by-standers, as if Providence had purposely laid before them the ever instructive lesson of a highly-gifted man, who is terrified into an abjuration of the principles which had hitherto guided his conduct, by the overwhelming tide of Revolutions.

The question was broached at the second meeting of the commissioners (Jan. 8th, 1849), by a general debate upon the subject. How were the rights of individual freedom to be conciliated with the high superintendence of the State? To what extent was that superintendence to reach? In what way again should it be exerted, and by whom? What degree of impartiality could it offer in regard to the capacity, morality, and religion of those who aspired to the calling of a teacher? All these questions and others of no less import which the reader will readily supply, were taken up in a most animated manner. To the objections raised by the champions of the University, M. de Montalembert aptly replied, that the very possession of freedom would precisely contribute to conciliate the rights of both parties, by giving to men of exclusive, nay of extreme opinions—to men who considered Christianity, whatever form it might assume, as indispensable, and as no less indispensable, the possibility of choosing for their children that education which they thought most proper.

And here it was that M. Thiers assumed the position which he ever after maintained. "The Revolution," said he, "had given rise to new duties. Was it possible to allow a Proudhon, a communist, an Epicurean, to become a teacher of the people? I say *this*:" continued he,—"just the same as in former times, there existed a sort of philosophical hypocrisy, so now a days we have to meet a new peril of portentous magnitude, and the first thing we have to do is to begin with the schools. For my part, a conversion has come over me:—I am of opinion that the interests defended by M. de Montalembert must be respected, and hence I conclude that *doctrines* of some kind or other we are bound to have on this head. But then, has society at large a right to profess them likewise?"

This was answered in the affirmative even by M. Cousin, though he contended that the law of 1833, was sufficient to meet all exigencies. "As for religion, the schoolmaster had but to make the children repeat the catechism, and

the Scriptures, which he might likewise expound in an edifying manner. If this had not been the case of late, it was simply because the University discipline had been forcibly relaxed. But even now, when there was any ground for alarm, were not the mayor and the priest ready at hand ; and supposing the proper committee once informed of the fact, could the latter not impart the remedy ?”

It is easy for the reader to see through the flimsiness of this mode of reasoning. M. Cousin was perfectly aware that the very guarantees intended by the law of 1833, were null and effete ; he was perfectly aware of the sheer impossibility in which they stood of doing any good, or putting an end to any harm. The late elections, in which the schoolmasters had played such a conspicuous, such a lamentable part, proved this beyond dispute.

Upon perusing attentively the documents now before us, we are particularly struck with a circumstance which proclaims more eloquently than anything else, the real state of French society. Whether Cousin, Dubois, or Montalembert, or Roux Lavergne are speaking, they all agree in one thing,—the total disruption of family ties within the body-politic, and the folly which prompted both university, government, and public or private teachers of all descriptions, to lift individuals out of their class, by showing them in a mazy distance a dazzling goal, to attain which they were to sacrifice every noble inspiration of the human heart. This, this is proclaimed the great, the momentous, the gigantic evil of the day,—and against *this* must be levelled the effort of every true patriot. On one occasion more especially, this feeling breaks out from M. Thiers, in a most melancholy tone :—

“For my part,” says he, “I am much alarmed at the state of society, and our danger is far greater than we imagine. Truly we have lately won a victory, but what security is there in that against the future ? Something has indeed been done, but much more still remains behind. We must be bold, very bold, as to the remedy, for bold we have a right to be. Our former quarrels are all over. Two bodies present themselves, the clergy and the university. I supposed the former desirous of encroaching upon the rights of the latter : I was against this tendency. But now, now we have been vanquished. We have no more to decide whether we are to grant, or not to grant freedom of education ; liberty we *must* have, liberty we *will* have. In my opinion, I should like to see the alliance, the coalition of the above two bodies for our common

defence. Doubtless the law of 1833 contains many good things, but it is inefficient. Here are two men, the one a layman, the other a priest, who has eight hundred francs a-year, and often less. The priest is resigned to his humble competency; the layman, on the contrary, is an enemy to the priest and to society. And to be sure, he must be strong, indeed, brought up as he is, not to hate society. When M. Carnot introduced his bill, I was struck with horror, for I saw before me 37,000 Socialists, 37,000 anti-curates, 37,000 preachers of Socialism and Atheism. Our first measure must thus be to bring primary instruction within narrow limits, and if it could be imparted by the parish priest, so much the better. Reading, writing, and casting up an account, is quite sufficient. It is the same with morality as faith, it must be forced into the heart, and we should act like madmen were we to argue about morality. We ought to strengthen clerical inspection, the curate must have that influence which he now has not. We have been told that here below, everything runs according to chance—an allusion to words attributed to M. Marrast. We have been told that everything is right, provided it gains its object, that the rich alone withhold from others the enjoyment of riches; that every one will be happy when everything is overthrown. But there is another philosophy which hath said, *Learn to suffer here below*. For my part I know none better."

In this way did the former minister of Louis Philippe reason, declaring that instruction must neither be gratuitous, nor obligatory, but reserved to those who could afford to pay for it. He inveighed with bitter sarcasm against that smattering learning which only contributes to make a man discontented with himself and others. When once on this track, he was carried so far by his feelings, that one of the most eminent Catholic members was obliged to interrupt him by saying that he would at last bring back the nation to be a set of barbarians, and that nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and opinions of the Church in all ages. The warmth of the debate reached the utmost lengths, and we do not feel ourselves authorized to repeat many an expression which would startle the reader. Suffice it to say, that the fear of present dangers, and the appalling consequences of the doctrines which had so long reigned paramount over French Society, were exposed in all their ghastly nakedness. In the midst of these heated and contending opinions, M. Dupanloup, the bishop of Orleans, interfered with the authority of his well earned influence, and greatly contributed to settle the question of gratuity.

"He was a decided partisan," he said, "of a gratuitous education, but at the same time it ought neither to be lavished nor imposed upon those who benefit by it, and a religious education was, moreover, an indispensable requisite. Has the state really a soul, as we have just heard? It is a question I shall not determine; but at any rate, a regular authority must exist, and the men invested with that authority have their duties. And what are those duties? We must neither lessen nor exaggerate them, for by exaggeration we shall produce a bad fulfilment of those duties, and at the expense of the true duty. By exaggeration, the state will prevent those upon whom such obligations may fall from going through them. Thus, for instance, it is the duty of every individual to labour, but if the state undertakes to supply him with that labour, the individual will sink into idleness.

"Now, a fundamental distinction has been omitted. Essential duties and essential rights are correlative to each other; a duty without a right is an utter impossibility. A duty and a right are both of the same nature; if the duty be rigorous, the right is likewise so; if not, the right is not rigorous. Absolute duties give birth to absolute rights; from imperfect duties proceed imperfect rights. Whatever is essential to the nature of men and things, gives rise to absolute rights and duties; but whatever is merely useful or beneficial, to imperfect rights and duties. The former are embodied in the laws, the latter are not. When in the laws, they are introduced under the protection of the sword; the latter, on the contrary, are merely a matter of moral appreciation and propriety.

"Thus, justice is absolute, charity is not. What is essential to the very existence of society is embodied in the law, and it becomes our duty to repress any infringement upon it. Such, for instance, is robbery. If the case be otherwise, no law interferes, unless it be to offer assistance and a tutelar intervention. Now, what is the duty of the State? Is it not to maintain public order, to protect, to ensure the public service, to guard the public interest, to offer a common guarantee to private interests? Thus, again its duty is to protect our lives, not to make us live; to protect our labour, not to secure us labour. No: it is not bound to have both virtue and merit for all; the State must not substitute its own virtues, its own duties, for the virtues, for the duties, for the resources of every individual.

"But still there are duties not to be found in the laws, imperfect duties which we strive to fulfil with all our might, with our whole energy. Of that kind is the duty of imparting instruction. As for the Church, she never considered as one of her duties to deal out primary instruction, except in regard to the catechism; because reading and writing are not essential to salvation: yet, notwithstanding this, she was ever favourable to instruction, because she deemed it favourable to civilization, though at the same time she

studiously grounded that self-same instruction upon a religious foundation.

"And lastly, I conclude by saying, that gratuity may be a mere fact stated in the law; but as it proceeds from no duty, so it will establish no right."

This masterly improvisation, of which we have endeavoured to give the pith and gist, carried away all opposition, and the principle of gratuity was adopted as a boon, when feasible, but not as an obligation of the State. Shortly after, the Commissioners plunged into the practical part of the business, and as most of the dispositions adopted within its bosom, after the most mature deliberation, have now become the law of the land, it will be better to give a brief analysis of the new regime of which France is now making a trial. Besides, our chief aim in quoting the preceding debates is attained if we have succeeded in showing what deep, what ardent passions were at work behind the scenes, as also, to what a height the evil itself had at length reached.

After a serious perusal of the law upon public instruction which at present rules French society, every reflective mind is particularly struck with one strong feature that seems to pervade the whole. Its principal object was obviously to conciliate the antecedent system of a monopolous University with the new-born principle of freedom. When abuses are inveterate, it is no easy task to eradicate them completely. It is with the diseases of the body politic as with those of the human constitution,—a transitory, and, as it were, an accidental complaint, is overcome with comparative facility by the physician; but in cases of chronic disorders, deeply rooted in the frame, and having become a sort of second nature with the patient, a long and tenacious course of medicine can alone conquer the morbid germ, if, indeed, it ever succeeds in expelling it from the system. France has been for years, nay, for ages, accustomed to look up to Government for every measure of importance which interests her moral, intellectual, or material condition. This has become such a marked trait in the French character, that what elsewhere is undertaken by individual energy and enterprize, is expected among our neighbours to proceed from the initiatory impulse of the State. So very predominant is this tendency, that we have ourselves heard M. de Falloux complain, in a large and emi-

nent assembly of Catholics, of their backwardness in supporting their religious establishments of education, and the folly which prompted them to send their children to the University schools, *because the latter enjoyed the protection of the State.* That such a tendency has, more particularly of late, been highly detrimental to France, and occasioned more than one revolutionary catastrophe, there can be no doubt whatever. But though her lawgivers and statesmen may bitterly lament this state of things, it is ever their duty to keep it in view when they are about to legislate for their country. Hence, we believe, arose those numerous impediments by which freedom in regard to education is still clogged in France. Its most fervent devotees were obliged, as it were, to inoculate liberty as a sort of curing virus, and in small quantities, into the general system, leaving to time, and to the remedy itself, to work out their own effects. This view of the subject may account for the strong opposition that the measure has had to encounter from many staunch Catholics, who considered it as being too restrictive of liberty. This may likewise afford us a clue to the hesitation which the Bishop of Langres, for instance, manifested, when he voted for a law in some respects obnoxious to his feelings as a christian and a prelate. But in this view, we have also the secret motive which prompted the conduct of those members who both proposed and defended the bill. The English reader will, therefore, do well to bear it in his mind, when dwelling upon the question.

The present law of Public Instruction contains two great divisions:—primary and secondary instruction. Within both, it introduces the new element of freedom, by infusing within the whole body numerous representatives of religion and of the family, as being the two great foundations of society.

In the first place, the Board of Superior Assessors, serving as a permanent council to the minister, instead of being formed of men solely chosen among the professors of the University, and limited to eight in number, now amounts to twenty-eight councillors, out of whom seventeen are named by election for the period of six years. They are also liable to re-election. Among them we find four Archbishops, or Bishops, two Protestant ministers, an Israelite, three Councillors of State, three members of the supreme Court of Cassation, and three members of the

Institute. The President of the Republic has a right to select three head masters of Free Schools to sit in the Board. So much for the share of liberty. On the other hand, the interests of the university are represented by eight councillors, who continue to form a permanent section.

This Board holds its meetings four times a year, in Paris, under the presidency of the minister. The whole course of their proceedings might be called, with no impropriety, the Grand Education Assizes.

"The superior council," says the fifth article of the law, "may be called upon to give its opinion upon projects of laws, regulations, and decrees relative to instruction; and generally upon all such questions as the ministers shall submit to its deliberation. It is necessarily called upon to give its opinion—upon regulations concerning the examinations, and programmes for the course of studies in the public schools, concerning the *surveillance* of free schools, and, in general, upon all decisions concerning establishments of public instruction :

"Upon the foundation of the faculties, and colleges, (grammar schools;)

"Upon the assistance and encouragement which are to be granted to free institutions of secondary instruction ;

"Upon such books as may be introduced into the public schools, and on those which ought to be prohibited in free schools, as being contrary to morality, to the constitution and the laws.

"The council issues its paramount decision upon all sentences pronounced by the academical councils in the cases determined by the fourteenth article of the present law.

"Every year the council presents to the minister a report upon the general condition of instruction, upon the abuses which may arise in educational establishments, and upon such means as may afford a remedy thereto."

The above article is highly important, for it contains the nucleus, it forms the scaffolding of the whole law. Upon this main-spring of the Superior Council depends the working of the entire machinery. With its three constitutive elements of election, deliberation, and judicature, the Superior Council may be termed a diminutive parliament, in which the vital interests of education are solemnly discussed and decided.

Another most radical alteration effected by the new law, is the establishment of eighty-six departmental academies, instead of the twenty-seven that precedently existed. The

primitive idea originated, we believe, with M. de Falloux, and gave rise to great opposition on the part of the Catholics. They imagined that it would lead to the aggrandisement of the university's power; and this might certainly have been the case, had the rectors of those academies been invested with the same omnipotent sway which they enjoyed under the former system. But here again we find an organization similar to that which characterizes the Superior Council. Every local academy is provided with a Council of Assessors, formed of the prefect, the bishop, or his delegate, of members of the clergy, the magistracy, and the council general of the department, whose influence and high station contribute to control the Rector in the fulfilment of his duties. Their decisions in regard to the local schools of the department are no less binding than those of the Superior Council, to whose supreme power recourse may be had, however, in case of need. Annual reports are addressed by these departmental academies to the minister, who transmits them to the Council.

Down to the present moment, there is no reason why this complicated machinery should not answer its purposes. The tide of public opinion on the one hand, and the fear of the Supreme Council on the other, has generally induced the Rectors to enter resolutely upon their duties in such a way as to effect a reform in the colleges, and more particularly among the popular schoolmasters. From all we have seen of their reports to the central administration, and their circulars to subaltern agents—and we have seen not a few—one can easily trace the influence of the close watchfulness of those who are placed by them to help them in their duties. Besides, as many of these Rectors are new men, and of sound religious principles, both from conscientious feelings and motives of personal interest, they are disposed to do their best. So far as this goes therefore, we may deem the great work of Reformation to be upon a good footing. The other official agents, such as the general and local inspectors, are now more or less dependant upon the Superior Council, a circumstance greatly contributive to excite their zeal and energy.

If from the upper regions of public instruction in France, we descend into the interior organization of the law, we find that the popular schools form two great classes—the communal and free schools. The former are official establishments, authorized and supported by the parish;

the latter are the result of individual energy; but the tutors in both are obliged to undergo an examination before competent authorities; both are liable to various sorts of inspection. The yearly allowance of no communal or parochial schoolmaster can be less than £30, (600 fr.), and in towns it rises to much more. If the parish cannot eke out the stipend, the department comes forward to make out the sum from its own resources, and if even this fails, government is bound to furnish the surplus. By this means, every master is sure of a decent competency; and, consequently, the law requires that he should give himself up to no trade whatsoever, though he may add a trifle to his income by acting as recorder to the mayor, and by chaunting at Church on Sundays and festivals.

Great care has been taken to subject the popular schools to minute inspection. They are visited several times a year by the official agents of the academy, and every three months by delegates chosen among the most influential and intelligent persons of each canton. We now have before us several circulars addressed to these delegates by the Rectors, who require that they shall closely investigate the religious, moral and scientific condition of each school, as well as of the man who directs it. A *curé* is always, by right, a member of this delegate body, and as it in no way is dependant upon the central administration—as again, the delegates really form a free-working agency in the whole system, representing as they do the interest of each family in the well-being of schools—it is easy to see that, if they consider their duties in a serious light, they may gain great influence over popular education at large. We should even be disposed to affirm, that the result of the experiment now going on in France, will, in a great measure, be decided by the activity and zeal of these delegates. Should they lapse, as they did before, into apathy and negligence, it will be all over, we fear, with the faith and morals of the forthcoming generation.

Another great innovation concerns women. Heretofore, they underwent a public examination, a circumstance which sometimes exposed their modesty to the sneers and smiles of those who attended the examinations, and likewise frequently made them liable to fail in their attempt from the effects of constitutional timidity. This has been done away, and at the same time the credentials granted

by superiors of religious corporations to their nuns, will be held as a sufficient proof of capacity.

Such are the main features of the actual French legislation in regard to popular education ; and we must now turn our eyes to secondary instruction. The reader is well aware of the terrible evils which prevailed in this department. It was impossible to explode them at once, for the remedy lies more in the influence of religious and moral instruction than in anything else. This must be the work of time and persuasion, not of legislative intervention. The only object that could really be attained, was to put an end to the monopoly of the university, without breaking down its own establishments, which would have given rise to an accusation of tyranny. This has been accomplished by introducing one great principle within the law. Though every person intending to set up a grammar school, must undergo a certain ordeal, and have taken a degree of bachelor of arts to prove his capacity ; that once done, he is totally independent of the State, unless one considers as a fetter the necessity of submitting to a sort of a sanitary supervision. Be a man a priest, a Jesuit, a bishop, or a simple layman, provided he regularly proves his capacity as a teacher, he is at liberty to establish as many seminaries as he pleases. The immediate consequence of this is, that every department may, if it chooses, deliver up its colleges or schools into the hands of any fit person who shall offer better conditions of morality, economy, or scientific acquirements than those who previously directed these establishments. We shall soon see how much good has already been wrought by this most simple measure, which restores liberty to the enjoyment of its legitimate rights.

The reader has now before him the principal outlines of the French law. It has been working and bringing out its natural consequences a little more than a year. Though this is but a short time, whether in favour or against the experiment, still there are data sufficient to throw some light upon its definitive results, should it be allowed fair play. The first thing which strikes us is the strong tide that from that moment has run in for the promotion of religious institutions. Though the French clergy was ill prepared for the exigencies of the case, the people impelled its members to open new schools, and those already existing were immediately

crowded to excess. Many of the provincial colleges have been handed over to the diocesan bishops, who are left at liberty to remodel them, and choose such teachers as they may please. The towns in which these institutions exist find a twofold advantage in this: firstly, they are secure of a sound religious education for youth; and secondly, their expenses are far less than when these schools were under the immediate sway of the university, though usually they did but little credit, even in a scientific sense, to the rule of that body.

On the other hand, the Jesuits have founded no less than thirteen schools, which are mostly open to daily pupils, and they have been obliged to refuse many offers of the kind. This is certainly a most significant circumstance, and a tolerable answer to the hue and cry which was set up against those venerable men at the close of the late monarchy.

But a fact still more glaring, is the disgust with which parents turn away from the university schools. In Paris, the latter have lost nearly one-half of their former pupils, and of course the proportion is still larger in the provinces. We could name one metropolitan college that is kept up this year merely because the government has supplied a large sum of money, in order to meet this untoward circumstance. Now, this institution has ever been famous for the proficiency of the students in mathematics, and a large proportion of those who prepared for the Polytechnic and military schools yearly flocked to its classes. But it was likewise no less notorious for the turbulent and irreligious dispositions which reigned within its walls.

Another no less remarkable fact is the removal of M. Dubois from the direction of the Normal school in Paris. The university has found out at last, that parents are frightened at the prospect of seeing every year a phalanx of infidel or even socialist teachers, emerge from that establishment, and spread their fatal doctrines through the whole country. The gentleman who has succeeded to M. Dubois, is, we learn, a man of unflinching principles in regard to religion, and intent upon effecting such reforms as he shall deem proper. It was only on this condition he consented to accept his new station.

However, no one could expect that such a powerful body as the University should tamely submit to the influx of

liberty introduced into the new legislation of France as far as concerns education. Both in the offices of the Ministerial department in Paris, and throughout the whole hierarchy of university agents, there prevails a systematical though secret opposition to the application of the nascent system. M. de Falloux himself had frequently to encounter this bitter feeling of hostility to his designs during his short-lived but useful administration; and since he resigned office, his successors have all, more or less, manifestly yielded to the suggestions of their official advisers. This is very apparent in the host of restrictive regulations which are constantly issuing from the *bureaux*, with a view, one would imagine, of crippling the new-born infant in its cradle. The University seems determined upon rendering the actual experiment abortive; so far indeed have things gone in this way, that one of the most distinguished and practical men in France wrote up lately to a member of the *Comité de l'Enseignement Libre*: "I consider the law as completely buried under the huge heap of ministerial regulations with which it is clogged. One might say that the law has been literally killed." Though there may be some little exaggeration in this, still it becomes the evident duty of the committee, to balk this pernicious tendency at its very origin; and, thank God, we may trust to the energy of M. de Montalembert and his friends to gain their end.

The above facts are certainly not the result of the law itself, but arise rather from its natural and obstinate opponents; however, it is but fair to show what are its real deficiencies, as they form the main ground of the opposition it has had to encounter from many Catholics. In this we cannot do better than follow the statements of the Bishop of Langres, in a publication bearing the title of "Truth as to the Law on Instruction." (*La Vérité sur la Loi de l'Enseignement.*)

According to the venerable bishop, the State still preserves by far too great an influence. Though the University could not be annihilated, no one can consider it otherwise than as an enemy to the Church; and, therefore, it would have been requisite to deprive that body both of its power and sway over education. This, however, has not been done, for the University maintains her ground in every direction; within the superior council, within the provincial academies, within the very sphere of primary instruction, through her different agents. Again, the

State is represented within the superior council by a permanent section of members, all belonging to the University, who alone receive salaries, who alone are constantly at work, who alone are thoroughly versed in the wear and tear of business, who alone are entrusted with the executive part of the law, and thus are sure of gaining, in the long run, a monopolising ascendancy.

Secondly, had the prescriptions of the Constitution been followed, it would have been requisite to use the word *surveillance*, instead of *inspection*, to characterize the interference of the State in schools, either public or private. But the latter expression having been adopted, it remains to ascertain how far this inspection may become fatal to liberty.

The law states, that *moralit y, health, the constitution, and the laws* are the objects of the above inspection. The Bishop attacks the vagueness of these expressions. For instance, is a sceptical system of philosophy to be included within the term of morals as well as revelation? Under pretence of health, (*hygi ne*,) may not likewise a free establishment be subjected to such alterations as will render competition altogether impossible? Another instance occurs:—The head master of a school is aware that an inspector is about to report upon his institution; will not this induce him to court the inspector's good will, by giving to the education of his pupils a tendency much less truly Catholic than might be desirable? And if the inspector's visits are frequent, as must necessarily be the case, will he not thus exert an almost irresistible pressure over the school? The Bishop of Langres considers this as one of the great faults of the law, and particularly when one remembers that the inspectors are named by the minister, the natural representative of political parties, and not by one of the local councils as he would have deemed it expedient.

Mgr. Parisis then puts the question: What was the true motive which induced the law-giver to establish such a numerous army of inspectors? His answer explains the whole spirit of the law, and, therefore, is well worth quoting more fully

“There is no ill will,” says he, “in regard to the Clergy among the men who framed and supported the bill. Whether the feeling may one day re-appear, is a thing we leave to the secrets of Provi-

dence ; but that it *does* not at present exist at the bottom of their souls, is a fact which we can affirm, and this assertion is the result of our deep conviction and observation.

"As to suspicion, no—there is none against us ; but it does exist against the condition of the country, oh yes—indeed there it does exist, and that suspicion breathes through the whole operation.

"We have been told, and told a hundred times :—

"No,—Liberty is not to be feared in *your* hands, but we cannot give it unbounded to *you*, without granting it equally to others who do not deserve it, and would make of that liberty a use most baneful to society. You see it your own selves ; the enemies of order are numerous ; they threaten the whole world with a catastrophe which would, perhaps, be unparalleled in the annals of mankind ; and we are aware that in every condition among these enemies, there are teachers of youth, or men whose duty it is to form the rising generations for good, but who, on the contrary, direct them towards evil.

"Well now, you, the priests—you, the apostles of virtue and truth—you are bound to wish no less than we do the destruction of such a shocking evil. Help us to avert this scourge, to turn away this mortal poison from the lips of those children so dear to your hearts. And, as we can do so only by general measures, apparently destined to bear upon you, though in reality they are not, allow us to add new strength to the organization of that vigilance which has become more than ever the sacred duty of every statesman."

Such is the plan which was set forth in order to justify the enthrallments which are still evident in the new system, and most certainly the Bishop of Langres has, by no means, lessened their weight and value. This weight must have been great, indeed, to induce him to vote, notwithstanding, for the law ; for after all, in his publication, he sums up likewise the advantages accruing from the measure, and evidently leans in favour of its adoption. Such a tendency in a prelate so truly conscientious in the fulfilment of his duties, and so prudent in the direction of worldly affairs, is very remarkable indeed. And if this be the case, is it astonishing that the Holy See should have given its approbation to a bill which does away with an enormous quantity of evil, though it neither can nor does profess to remove all ?

Were not the subject of such high interest to every Catholic reader, we should apologize for the length of the present article. But there are things which require to be exposed at full length, and in the present case the view of

the enormous difficulties, besides the bad consequences which have attended the French system of centralization and government influence over public education, may be, by no means, unprofitable to Englishmen under actual circumstances. France has been punished, through a most tremendous revolution, for all her previous delinquencies and her infidelity. Providence has been obliged, as one of her statesmen lately said, to take the government of the nation into its own hands; but how long can this continue, or is it to be expected that it should continue? In events like these we may read a lesson of what awaits ourselves, should we suffer secular instruction to take the lead of religious education; were we to allow a system of government indifference to supersede the dictates of Christian revelation; ere long, *revolution* would likewise stare us in the face.

Again, it must be remembered, that in the midst of the universal revolutionary earthquake, God had previously prepared for France a whole generation of truly Catholic patriots and statesmen, who came forth in the hour of need, facing, by turns, with their impassioned eloquence, with their personal intrepidity, with their judicious measures, the whole army of anarchists. But once more we say that resources like these are not always forthcoming, and mad, indeed, would be those who could reckon upon them.

Thus, as far as we can judge of the whole, the new law has wrought great ameliorations, and may give rise to others still more important, as the signs of the times are in favour of religion. The reader has already seen the immediate effects of the above measure upon schools in general; but another circumstance is well worth observing. The French clergy seems roused to a deep sense of its present duties; it leaves no stone unturned in order to meet the exigencies of the moment, and to bring in new reapers for the unexpected harvest. Ecclesiastical normal schools are in the way of being established in several seminaries, to prepare young professors for secondary colleges. The archiepiscopal institution, at the *Carmes*, in Paris, begins to attract great attention. The piety of the students, together with their literary accomplishments, form a high contrast with the spirit of the infidel normal school belonging to the university. This is, of course, fair play, as many an official examiner is obliged to admit.

The religious press is likewise teeming with productions

upon the same subject. Mgr. Dupanloup has lately published a work upon education, which has elicited universal admiration for its sound principles and attic elegance of taste, whilst another clergyman has also come forth with a very spirited *brochure*, in which he offers to the public his *Ideas upon Education*, ideas which are the result of long-earned experience. On the other hand, popular instruction is not forgotten. Several laymen of talent, among whom figures M. Michel, an old friend of the celebrated Father Girard, of Friburg, in Switzerland, have undertaken to publish a monthly periodical, for the instruction of the country schoolmasters. The seven first numbers are full of excellent advice on primary tuition in every direction, and throughout the whole there breathes a genuine Catholic spirit. The *Education*—such is the title of this review—seems destined to do great service to the cause, for one may say with truth, that not one single periodical of the kind existed in France. All other journals belonging to this class are merely the speculations of booksellers, more or less dependant on the university. Besides, the price of subscription is so low, as to place it at the disposal of all schoolmasters if they please.

We are, therefore, justified in repeating that the new law has generally answered the expectations of those who proposed and defended it. Notwithstanding all its deficiencies, it has put an end to many prejudices in regard to religion; it has taken advantage of the favourable impressions of the day; it has overthrown a great portion of that despotic sway which had hitherto proved so baneful to France; it has enabled new and free establishments to arise, that would otherwise have been utterly impossible; it has given birth to a system destined henceforth to grow and prosper, if the French Catholics take care of themselves; it has finally called forth a spirit of competition with the university, that no one could now extinguish, and thus prepared for another generation a ground upon which it may take a firm stand and achieve still greater, still better things. All this is certainly something substantial, something practical, and gratitude is due to those who have done so much for their country, with such insignificant means in their hands, nay, with such a warm opposition against them. That they may be rewarded with gratitude, ought to be the wish of every true Catholic, and is certainly the sincere desire of the present writer.

ART. V.—*Cases of Conscience, or Lessons of Morality.* For the use of the Laity; extracted from the Moral Theology of the Romish Church. By PASCAL THE YOUNGER. London: Bosworth, 1851.

THIS miserable production, miserable alike in tendency, in spirit, and in execution, has, at any rate, the advantage, in the eyes of a Catholic, that it carries its refutation in its very title. Its title, in fact, is a faithful representation of its argument, and that argument, besides the many incidental flaws by which it is vitiated, is from beginning to end a fallacy; the common fallacy, we will add, of all writers who have attempted to implicate in the charge of laxity, the moral theology of the great Jesuit school. And before entering upon the exposure of the present work in detail, we shall endeavour, with as little of theological technicality as possible, to give our readers an idea of this *πρώτον ψεύδος*, this elementary false assumption which runs through all the popular attacks upon the Confessional, and of which even Catholics themselves, especially those of the Gallican opinions, have not been always careful to keep themselves clear.

It appears, then, to be taken for granted by these objectors, that “Cases of Conscience” and “Lessons of Morality,” are one and the same thing. They confound, that is, the moral theology of the Church, which is altogether remedial of sin already committed, with her moral teaching, which is directed to the formation of character. It is indeed wonderful, (unless the explanation of the fact be sought in wilful oversight,) that they should so entirely forget the frequency with which our ordinary spiritual writers, as well as our theologians, describe a confessor under the name of a “physician.” It is equally strange, that men professing a reverence for the text of Scripture, should wholly ignore the words of our Blessed Lord Himself: “They that are sound need not a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the just, but sinners to penance.” Our readers will better understand the distinction we mean to express, if we put a couple of parallel cases, drawn from the practice of the world.

Our first analogy shall be derived from the quarter to which both the Gospel and the Church direct us to look for the illustration of the priests' office—we mean the department of medical science and practice. A physician, in the words of our Lord Himself just quoted, is not for the sound but for the sick and the sickly. A healthy man indeed may go to his doctor for *direction*, but this is a distinct and special department of a physician's duty. Medical treatises are but incidentally concerned with it; their *object* is to suggest methods, not for the preservation of health, but for the alleviation of disease. It is just the same in the case of our moral theology, the end of which is, the restoration of the penitent from the state of sin into which he has unhappily fallen, to the state of grace which he has forfeited. Sin, (in the language again of Holy Scripture,) is the "disease," the state of grace is the condition of spiritual health, and the sacrament of penance is the ordained means of recovery. The Confessor, like the physician, is bound by the obligations of his office to get his patient out of trouble as well as he can; and treatises of moral theology are his guides as to the most approved method of doing his work. But as the physician has bodily health for the subject matter of his profession, so a priest has spiritual health for that of his vocation, (so far as men are the objects of it,) and as the physician, therefore, is at times a counsellor of the sound, to prevent their becoming ill, a confessor is also a *director* of the spiritually healthy, so that they may be secured from a fall. Now the treatises which he consults, in his character of confessor, and which, it seems, have found their way into the hands of persons, (like our author,) for whom they were never intended, are mainly occupied with the circumstances of disease; "cases" as they are rightly called. Where they touch upon the condition of the healthy, it is in the way of a digression, or rather, a special notice. Thus, St. Alphonso, for example, has his practical instructions for directors of souls, in a form quite distinct from his moral theology; they belong, in fact, to a different branch of the science, called the "ascetic;" and it is as ridiculous to mix up the two lines of study as it would be to confound a book of culinary recipes with one of medical prescriptions. We are serious when we say, that if a gentleman in a good state of health were to propose sustaining himself upon beef tea and barley water, instead

of roast mutton and port wine, he would not make a greater *mistake* than would the Catholic who should seek for spiritual direction in the pages of Busembaum, or any other work of the kind.

To dwell a moment longer upon this same comparison. The great principle upon which the spiritual, like the bodily physician has to shape his course, is that of accommodation to circumstances. He has his particular patient to prescribe for, and he will prescribe accordingly; but that patient has this in common with all patients, that he requires a cautious as well as a gentle and considerate treatment. Besides his specific symptoms, he has the characteristic of all sick people as such, that he is delicate and sensitive. Hence his physician must provide, not for what he himself might desire, but for what his patient can bear. But his object, above all, must be that of hindering despondency. In the pursuit of this object, he will practice a prudent reserve in speaking to his patient; he will make the best even of serious disease, not from any love of dissembling, still less any habitual untruthfulness, but simply in pursuit of his object, which is to lighten, not to aggravate, to heal and not to wound. A pretty kind of doctor would he be, who should go about frightening his patients in their first respite after danger, and ere they were well out of it, by telling them in their feeble state, all which he would say of their maladies to their friends in health, or to themselves when recovered! When he sees them too easily elated, ready to presume upon a momentary amendment, or to calculate upon years when he knows their days, and perhaps their hours, to be numbered, then cautiously indeed, and kindly, but still firmly, he advises them of their danger, or at least moderates their too sanguine hopes. But in a case where calmness and confidence are the very conditions of recovery, to speak to a sick man of his disease, after the fact, in the same terms in which you would speak to a sound man of the same disease before it, would be a course of action for which worldly men would very soon find a suitable, and that no very complimentary description, were it to be practised in regard to themselves and their families.

The penitent, moreover, has a claim upon his confessor for tenderness, which is peculiar to himself. A sick man does no violence to his natural feelings in having recourse to his physician; on the contrary, he acts in obedience to

them. He *feels* his malady, which all sinners unhappily do not. And even when sinners are moved by the promptings of divine grace, to go to a Confessor, and disburden their consciences, what a victory must they not gain over their self-love! They may, if they please, keep their secret to themselves, so that even their best friends shall not know of it. Unlike the man attacked with illness, they have neither natural inclination within, nor kind friends without, to force them on using remedies. They may stay away from confession if they please, but they actually prefer, for their souls' health, to do a thing most repulsive to their natural self-love. Are such the persons for a sinner like themselves to frighten and discourage? Is it for him to exaggerate, or even to exhibit in formal shape, the sin which, as it is, appals them by its hideous appearance? Does not human kindness, as well as sacerdotal duty, suggest to a confessor the course of gentleness and moderation? And has not his Lord warned him against bruising the broken reed and quenching the smouldering flax? We repeat, it is one thing to warn from mortal sin as a danger, quite another to deal with it as a fact; and it would be just as unchristian to use in the confessional the language of the pulpit, as to tell men whom we wish to maintain in innocence, of all the excuses which might be made for them if unhappily they should fall into sin.

It may be said, indeed, that a sin is as much a sin at one time as at another, and that the course we are now advocating is favourable to hypocrisy and falsehood. But how different is the fact! The preacher, or spiritual director, speaks of sin in the abstract, as hateful to God and destructive of the soul. The confessor, on the contrary, who deals with sin as a fact, has to view it in connexion with all its circumstances in the particular case; such as the amount of knowledge or deliberation with which it was committed, and the degree of completeness to which it was carried; its place in the series of which it is one; its relation to the temperament and situation of the penitent, &c. It will be hard, indeed, if there be no extenuating circumstances in the particular instance; one fact to move compassion and suggest tenderness there must always be—the fact of the confession itself. A penitent always deserves mercy, but a hearer does not even claim it.

Hence it is that so great a part of moral theology con-

sists in framing excuses for sinners. The consideration of favourable circumstances in every variety of form, or in their effect, whether upon the intention of the agent, or the character of the act; the possibility of reducing the sin to some less aggravated class of transgressions, or of accounting for it upon some indulgent hypothesis; the admissibility, without compromise, of some lenient construction, or the adoption of some moderate opinion of a divine of weight, upon which the confessor, desiring to be lenient, might safely act—these and the like are topics which receive so prominent a place in our authorized treatises on confession, that it is no wonder if hasty observers should carry away from the perusal of them, notions at variance with the strictness of Catholic morality, though a wonder it is that men of credit should persevere in misrepresentations which have been so often and so completely exposed. The consolation however is, that the servant is not greater than his Lord, and that if our Divine Master was called the Friend of sinners, it is no reproach to His priests to be thought lax and unscrupulous. The principle of indulgence upon which our most approved decisions in moral theology are based, is, after all no other than that upon which our blessed Redeemer absolved the woman taken in adultery, and her, who merited to have many sins forgiven by reason of her much love.

The other parallel by which we shall illustrate the difference between the duties of a teacher and confessor, shall be found in the practice of human tribunals. Who would ever think of mistaking the principles upon which a judge or jury decides the case of a criminal, for those which should guide a moralist in reforming a nation? Let us suppose a just judge, or an impartial jury, having to deal with a prisoner who pleads guilty, and who appears before them under the disadvantage of no antecedent conviction, and no personal blemish. Surely they will start with a bias in his favour; a bias warranted not merely by his previously unsullied reputation, but by the fact of his throwing himself upon mercy, when he might possibly have evaded justice. If the stern requirements of the law will not allow them to pronounce in his favour, still what efforts will they spare, to what harmless expedients will they not have recourse, in order that they may temper the effect of a verdict which they cannot avoid, and mitigate a penalty which they cannot but inflict! What weight, nay what

preponderance, will they not give to every favourable feature, to constitutional infirmity, to the strength of temptation, to the influence of example! How anxious will they be to wrest each doubtful precedent, to determine each faltering authority, towards the side of clemency! how much less fearful, if their way be not clear before them, of error in an abstract opinion on the side of indulgence, than of the misapplication of a true one on the side of rigour! Yet the office of a Confessor, as every phrase denoting or referring to it expresses, is strictly and essentially *judicial*.

We have thus attempted to demonstrate by a recourse to no fanciful analogies, but to those to which the very definition of the confessorial office directs us, the nature of the duty which a confessor, (*quâ* confessor) has to perform, and the character of the materials upon which he has to draw for his decisions. And it will be at once apparent how unfair it is to confound the adjudications of "cases" with the delivery of "lessons;" or in other words, the office of a confessor, (which is entirely passive,) with the positive duties of a preacher or director. The distinction indeed is so obvious, and so well understood by all Catholics, that we should have to apologize for inflicting upon our readers an elaborate proof of it, were it not that educated men have been found to pin their faith upon books like that before us, in which this distinction is not so much as imagined. This writer, whoever he may be, that takes upon himself to instruct the world on the subject of our theology, under a name which proves that he claims a relationship of object with the celebrated author of the "*Lettres Provinciales*," seems to have formed somewhat of the following conception of our sacerdotal practice. He seems to think that our priests, among their many duties, have this office in particular; that they have certain hours in the day during which they receive all the "loose fish" in their parishes, who come to them for instruction as to the most approved manner of committing sin, so as to gain the largest amount of personal gratification with the least sacrifice of ecclesiastical standing. The nice distinctions which our theologians draw between sins that destroy and such as only wound the soul, (for instance,) are apparently believed by this gentleman to be devised for the special purpose of enabling young Mr. A. to murder his enemy with only a venial quantity of deliberation, or Lady

B. to play her cards so neatly as to commit a decided *faux pas* without forfeiting the good opinion of her spiritual adviser. Such an imagination, we confidently aver, is not a whit less ludicrous than would be that of supposing all the vagabonds in Hampshire to subscribe, in order to get Mr. Justice Coleridge to go down to some central spot in the county, that they might repair into his presence, and consult him as to the approved method of housebreaking, or other such practices, so as to come off with the least quantity of punishment at the next ensuing Winchester Assizes. The law, they might say, is exact in defining the difference between murder, manslaughter, and homicide; between robbery and petty larceny; between criminal assaults and venial misdemeanors. We come to your Lordship, as to a judge learned in the law, and to you rather than to another, because you will be the very judge at whose tribunal we shall have to appear, and who will direct the jury to their verdict; your own labours will be lightened by a previous knowledge of the cases which will come before you, and the character of our county will suffer should those cases be of an unnecessarily aggravated hue. With the benefit of your instructions, and under the sanction of your authority, we shall commit our intended crimes in the most scientific manner, and with all the security which the case admits. Guarded by an exact knowledge of the law from the danger of blind excitement, and protected by your authoritative sympathy against the possibility of a crushing verdict, we shall gratify our wishes so cautiously, and transgress the law so neatly, that when the time of trial arrives, you will be rather moved to admire us as models of dexterity, than led to punish us as ungainly criminals; and so regard us less as the victims of your judicial severity, than as the monuments of your legal success. While neighbouring cities are infested with crime, and your learned brothers are burdened with heavy cases, Winchester shall have the distinction of a light calendar, and all but a virgin assize. The hangman may take his vacation, and the turnkeys may kick their heels; murders here shall melt into misdemeanours, seductions subside into gallantries; for surely a judge will not be so uncourteous as to sum up to the disadvantage of those who have transgressed in conformity to his instructions, or overlook in each case the extenuating circumstances, which are the result of his own advice.

Now this proceeding, which looks so grotesque, is literally, and without any exaggeration, that which "Pascal the Younger" supposes to have place in the Kingdom of Christ on earth. This credulous individual has actually been deluded into believing that such a scene as the following is the representation of a fact not unusual in the Catholic Church.

"Father O'Flannigan keeps the conscience of two lords, a score of squires, and some three thousand of her Majesty's supposed lieges in the parish of Ballinadrum. 'Father O'Flannigan, Mat D'Arcey won't hear a word about fighting. He swears by all the saints its a horse-whipping he'll give me the first time we meet. Father O'Flannigan, what's to be done *with a clear conscience*?' '*It's not a thing I should like to advise*, Mr. O'Shaugnessy, but it is *quite in the line of your duty to shoot him*.' 'By —, Father O'Flannigan, it is just what I have been satisfied of all the while, and I have challenged him three times, besides once on the floor of the House!' 'You misunderstand me, Mr. O'Shaugnessy; sending a challenge is a delicate question in morals, upon which I understand from yourself we were not now to touch. This is a case of defence against aggression; not of life, indeed, but of honour, *bonum præstantius*, Mr. O'Shaugnessy; and now we shall see St. Liguori. Here it is, chapter and verse: 'For a mere contumely, for example, an honourable gentleman is told *that he lies*; it is not allowable to put the offender to death, for there is another way of wiping off that, and one sanctioned by custom; but the thing is quite different if one should offer to lay a whip or the palm of his hand on any particularly honourable gentleman, and there is no other way to avert it.' Diana,—not the heathen divinity, Mr. O'Shaugnessy, but one of the great lights of the Church,—Diana, Lessius, Hurtado, and twelve other doctors, teach that it is lawful to slay the aggressor on the spot. There is no sinning in such company; and though holy Liguori has found out a certain Sylvio, who stands by himself in his singular opinion, who says that it is very rarely that this opinion should be put into practice, *his own (the Saint's) opinion* is quite clear,* on the side of authority, and I hope, Mr. O'Shaugnessy, *you are provided with one of the patent revolvers*.'" "That day week," continues the narrative, "Father O'Flannigan celebrated a *solemn requiem Mass*, for the repose of the soul of poor Mat D'Arcey, who died of a gun-shot wound, inflicted by some person or persons unknown!"—pp. 21—22.

* Vid. infra.

We must inflict one more specimen of this trash upon our readers, in order to bear out our assertion :

“ St. Liguori's next practical commentator is ‘square’ Father Kilmany, living in what is very properly called one of the ‘disturbed districts.’ Of his ‘penitents’ there are now three seated on a bench in the passage, waiting as patiently as any Italian born and bred to ‘far l’anticamera.’ One by one they are let into the sanctum of the Father's study. ‘Your Reverence,’ says Phelim McLaughlin, squeezing his indescribable head-gear into ‘no shape at all,’ please your Reverence, Lord Skelter's ‘gentleman’ has just got down at the Star and Garter, and before three days it will be all over with most of us. It is no use to talk of defence, for we have not the means. But what I'm thinking of, your Reverence, is to ‘anticipate him.’ ‘You must mind what you are after, Phelim McLaughlin,’ says Father Kilmany, ‘by the law of God, his life is a forfeit ;’ and after a stirring outburst against the curse of bad landlords and bad agents, he ends by assuring Phelim, on Liguori's authority, that, barring the risk, there is nothing to hinder his ‘anticipating’ the gentleman with a ball or a slug.”*—pp. 25—26.

It is, we think, sufficiently plain from these quotations, that the author confounds the office of *confessor* with that of *teacher*. But if any doubt upon the point still remains, the following passage is of a nature to remove it. Summing up the evils of the system upon which he supposes the Church to act, the author observes :

“ To be a member of a cabinet or of any corporate body, is a sad snare for individual conscience. To be a corporate body oneself, (a Bishop, for instance,) often proves still more so. But what must the case be where the great polity in which priest and people are alike incorporated, avowedly takes the charge and responsibility of all consciences, and, by a sort of moral communion, makes the very lowest level the universal standard ?”—p. 28.

This charge then which we bring against the author, of totally mistaking the object of the Confessional, (for a “charge” we must call it, considering the serious moral fault which such a blunder implies,) would hold good, even supposing that his statements were as fair, and his citations as accurate, as we expect to prove them the contrary. Let it be remembered, then, that the work of St. Alphonso,

* Vid. infra.

upon which these statements are founded, is in six octavo volumes, which "Pascal the Younger" undertakes to represent in the foot-notes of a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, not half of which is directly occupied with the subject of Moral Theology. To this fact it should be added, that the work of the saint, from its nature, is one which is little likely to fall into the hands of ordinary readers, and still less likely to be understood by them. We venture to say that there is no subject in the world but one affecting the Catholic Church, in which educated men would not see through the unfairness of founding a judgment of a work like that we have described upon a few extracts, even were these extracts fairly made and rightly translated. That in any case they could form even a plausible, and much less a fair specimen of the theology of St. Alphonso, we entirely deny. But in point of fact, they are not even correctly made, and the errors both of quotation and translation which they exhibit are, we hesitate not to say, simply disgraceful in a case where the charge is so sweeping and the inaccuracy so difficult to prove. Even the Catholic laity, to say nothing of Protestants, have no access to the work of St. Alphonso, for they are far too well instructed in their duty to exercise an idle, and it may be, even a vicious curiosity, upon a subject with which, as a body, they have no concern. Our priests again, are far too busily engaged, as a general rule, to enter upon the office of controversialists, and many of them, we can well understand, might treat a publication like that before us as below their notice. It is solely because we happen to know that even excellent Catholics have been distressed by this book that we yield our own judgment of its pretensions, upon which we should have left it to fall by itself. Yet, at last, we have no hope of covering by our notice of it, the ground to which its influence has probably extended; still less of reaching the particular class of readers into whose hands it will have fallen. While *it* is contributing to swell the current of the great "Protestant tradition," and is the parent of a swarm of calumnies which will outlive itself, and become themselves the source of future misrepresentations, our comments on it, (be they worth more or less,) will be meeting eyes which never lighted upon the subject of them, and possibly introduce the work itself into quarters as yet unconscious of it. This is an inconvenience; but one which is surely not sufficient to compensate for the

duty of removing a scandal out of a weak brother's way, or of curing the distress of one faithful son of Holy Church.

From the quotations already made, the reader will have gathered that the object of this author is to embody the substance, or supposed substance, of St. Alphonso's doctrine upon certain points, in the form of conversations between the Priest and certain of his penitents, held, whether in the confessional or in the Priest's private apartment. The specimens we have given will not, perhaps, have disposed the reader to desire much more of the same kind; and we must therefore attempt, at whatever sacrifice of fulness, to compress these dialogues into a form which we hope and believe will involve no unfairness towards the writer under review.

One of the cases runs as follows. A servant claims to take secret compensation for her services, which she chooses to consider ill-paid. Her plea is, that she receives but £10 a-year wages, whereas Susan, next door, has £15 for the same work. And the Priest is made to allow her claim. This decision is justified out of St. Alphonso, who says, that servants do not commit sin who (all other means failing,) have, *upon the refusal of their master to give them the just compensation*, compensated themselves to the precise amount of the wages necessary for their sustenance, or for which they compacted. His words are, "*Famuli non peccant si sustentationem vel mercedem justam domino negante, utantur compensatione occultâ, dummodo tamen alius modus non sit impetrandi, nec plus accipiantur quam debetur.*" (iv. 39.) Hereupon this writer jumps at the conclusion, nowise grounded upon the words of the Saint, that a Confessor may *teach* a servant-girl to pay herself, out of her master's property, the difference between her wages and those of a servant in another place, *who happens to receive more*, and this for all that appears, without endeavouring to establish her claim in any other way. A very little reflection will show the unfairness of the inference. The master, in the case supposed by the Saint, is guilty of a direct fraud in withholding from his servant her *due*; and hence the servant has as much right to the difference between the wages agreed upon and those actually paid, as to the same amount if she had been robbed of it. All the requisite conditions being supposed, she commits no more sin by compensating herself to the exact amount, (if she do no more,) than if she were to take out of her master's

room her own watch, or other article of her property, which he might happen to have purloined. Here the Church comes in aid of the Scripture maxim, "The labourer is worthy of his hire;" and defends the oppressed against one of the worst forms of tyranny. St. Alphonso, moreover, (let it be continually observed,) supposes the act *done*, and gives no warrant, as is plain, for *teaching* a servant, before the fact, to compensate herself according to her own mode of rating her own services, and upon her assumption, (without proof,) that other modes of obtaining justice are impracticable. It will be answered by Englishmen that this allowance of secret compensation is dangerous. But here comes in the old difference between teaching and deciding. St. Alphonso is determining the law, not writing a sermon. Now, on what count can this servant be tried at the bar of conscience, but that of injustice, and how can she be condemned for that which is in fact the rectification of an act of injustice? That such a mode of compensation is *undesirable*, and *not to be advised*, St. Alphonso shows, by the limitations with which he guards his doctrine. The case supposed by Pascal the Younger, is not that justified by St. Alphonso, but that *condemned* by Innocent XI. in the following proposition. "Famuli ac famulæ domesticæ possunt occulte heris suis subripere ad compensandam operam suam quam *majorem judicant salario quod recipiunt*." It is just the way with these popular speakers, and even writers, (whose condemnation will be greater,) to overlook the minute distinctions which separate innocence from guilt. But it is for him who administers justice with mercy, to weigh and act upon them.

St. Alphonso, like all our great writers, is apt to draw a marked line between breaches of the *moral*, and breaches of a mere *positive* law. Were it fitting to transfer to our pages his full doctrine, for example, on the subject of the sixth and ninth (in the Protestant decalogue the seventh and tenth) Commandments, it would speedily appear on which side, the Catholic or the Protestant, the laxer notions prevail as to breaches of the great law of purity. It would be found how easily sins of thought in that, as well as other matter, to which Protestants are surely not less exposed than other men, may undermine, and at length destroy, the foundations of divine life in the soul; nay, how even one such sin may debar a Christian from heaven; and how,

again, the same great law may be fatally violated by actions which are considered in the world to be fully justified by circumstances, or by the relation in which the parties are placed towards one another. These, and the like to these, are (not lessons taught, but) facts implied in the treatises of moral theology; although, to judge of these treatises by Protestant exhibitions of them, one would fancy that they were mainly occupied in devising methods for the suggestion of evil to innocent minds, or in constructing cases of guilt altogether beyond (as if that were possible,) the actual range of human iniquity. Now upon these subjects, St. Alphonso, lax as he is represented, is strict to a degree which renders the inflexible application of his principles exceedingly difficult here in England, apt though we be to boast of our superior morality in the comparison with Catholic countries. On the other hand, to apply any but a most easy and pliant rule to the interpretation of *positive* laws, (such as that which enjoins fasting and abstinence,) would be to go the direct way of justifying the very charge which Protestants so freely bring against us, of substituting formal for spiritual religion. Faithful to Him who says, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," the Church sanctions the practice of the utmost leniency and forbearance towards those who, whether by health or other such circumstances, are prevented from complying with her rules in external matters. As to fasting, indeed, its use is less in promoting the spirit of mortification, than in exercising the habit of obedience; hence the end of the institution is not defeated, often, indeed, it is furthered, by a suspension of the practice which it enjoins. A priest is not bound to go minutely into the reasons for which a penitent asks to be dispensed from an observance which, while all but indifferent in itself, may so easily conflict with duties which are of natural and eternal obligation. To preserve life, (and health, as tending to it,) is one such duty; to hinder breaches of charity, or domestic peace, is another. Now it is evident from the very nature of such circumstances, that a confessor is very much in the hands of the applicant for a dispensation, and must act in the spirit of confidence and generous dealing. His mistakes, if voluntary, and the effect neither of culpable ignorance nor of a worldly mind, will never, he knows, be imputed to him.

We have made these remarks in introduction of a story

which is brought in the work before us, to illustrate the charge of laxity in the matter of ecclesiastical dispensations. A lady is supposed to ask for leave to eat meat on fasting and abstinence days, on the ground that a meagre diet spoils her appearance, and makes her disagreeable to her husband, and her confessor is supposed to admit her plea upon the authority of St. Alphonso, who gives excellent reasons why it is better that such a law should be relaxed, than the peace of married life disturbed, and its ends defeated.

We shall not be expected to follow this writer into the examination of all the cases which he selects for discussion, especially when it is understood that the class of subjects upon which St. Alphonso never touches without obvious pain of a most acute kind, and upon which he does not even enter without an apology, is precisely that which supplies the most numerous and the most effective points of attack to critics such as Pascal the Younger, and that the same considerations which lead theologians to approach such subjects with reluctance, should much more compel reviewers to abstain from enlarging upon them. In one respect, "Pascal, the Younger" is not unlike other writers of the same class, in that he has contrived, in his own pages, to commit material violations of that very law of delicacy which he is seeking to vindicate. We might contrast, in illustration, the tone in which he treats the subject of female dress, compared with that of the Saint, whose decision he charges with laxity, because it stops short of declaring that a lady who adopts the style of dress common in the high society of England, commits "mortal" sin, i.e., puts herself, *ipso facto*, in the state of damnation; and this, too, after a protest so solemn as the following, against the very misconception with which his words have met. "*Quum ego munus concionatoris gessi, pluries etiam hunc perniciosum usum fortiter conatus sum exprobrare.*" We wonder how many of the Protestant clergy can say the same. And this is he, of whom a writer of their communion can bring himself to slander as a "loose priest," nay, as a "holy pander!" May he himself be judged at the great Day by another measure than that which he deals out to his neighbour!

And here we must not forget to notice his ignorance of the nature of a venial sin. Of the practice of those females who dress loosely without evil intention, and with the view of

pleasing where they are bound in duty to please, St. Alphonso says, "nullo jure naturali, divino aut humano, *saltem ad mortale obligante*, vetatur." This is translated in the work under review, (p. 32.) "no natural law, human or divine, at least *that is obligatory*." The important words "ad mortale," are omitted. Now a writer so free in his judgments of our theology, ought to know that a confessor who, with his eyes open, should counsel his penitent to commit a venial sin, would himself commit a mortal one.

We may observe that there are other instances of mis-translation in the work, which bear the appearance rather of ignorance than of malice, although of ignorance most highly culpable in a writer who brings sweeping charges against a whole body of men. For example, at page 19, (note,) the exact meaning of the word "reus" is overlooked in the application of the passage in which it occurs. Again, (p. 23, note) the technical meaning of "discrimen inculpatae tutelæ," is evidently not understood. At page 31, (note) we have the words "hæc videtur positiva inductio, sive ad peccatum cooperatio," (plain enough to any tyro in Latin,) which has its English counterpart in the following nonsense, (p. 32,) "this seems a positive *induction whether there is co-operation to sin*." After such serious inaccuracies, the reader will be prepared for a mode of translation flowing and inexact even when not positively erroneous, and this too in a subject where the whole force of passages depends upon scientific precision.

And now recurring to the case of Father O'Flannigan, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy, which the reader will find *in extenso* in a former part of our article, let us take the following as a specimen of this writer's accuracy. He says, it will be observed, that the opinion of St. Alphonso is "quite clear," on the side of Lessius, &c., who excuses a man for taking away the life of another who insults his honour, and against Sylvio, who contends that this opinion is "most rarely" to be carried into practice. Who would expect to find, that, on the contrary, St. Alphonso is *with* Sylvio, and *against* the rest? His words are, "*Sed in praxi rarissime uti licet prædictâ opinione, nam Sylvius RECTE sic ait: etiamsi honor sit bonum præstantius quàm divitiæ, AUT NULLUM AUT RARISSIMUM arbitramur esse casum quo pro defensione solius honoris liceat Aggressorem interficere.*" The latter part of this sentence the author before us comprises under an *et cetera!*

A similar piece of garbling occurs in the case before cited, of Father Kilmany and Phelim Maclaughlin. The story, it will be observed, relates to the interpretation of the law of self-defence, and the question it determines on the affirmative side is, whether under certain circumstances, a person may be executed for killing, by anticipation, another, whom he knows to be prepared to kill him. Certain authors it appears, are of opinion, that the rule which allows a man to defend his life by killing an actual aggressor, allows him also to defend himself, by the same means, against one who is prepared to attack him, supposing, of course, that he acts not upon suspicion, however well founded, but upon a moral certainty that his life will be attacked. The author before us appears to quote this as the opinion of St. Alphonso himself. Let us, then, hear the words of the Saint, which "Pascal the Younger" suppresses.

"His non obstantibus," (that is, notwithstanding, we must suppose these authors to imply a moral certainty of danger to life, and nothing short of it,) "censeo, secundam sententiam," (the opinion in question) "hâc etiam distinctione suppositâ," (i.e. the distinction between moral certainty, and mere suspicion or apprehension,) "*vix in praxi aliquem posse sequi, propter hallucinationis periculum quod in hujusmodi re adesse possit.*" "Which opinion, even after giving due weight to the distinction supposed, I decidedly pronounce can hardly ever be admissible in practice, on account of the risk of hallucination incident to such a subject." St. Alphonso will not go so far as to assert, that in every conceivable case a person must be determined to have sinned mortally, by taking away the life of one whom he knew to have prepared the means of death against himself; still, looking to the great risk of misapprehension in such a case, he judges, that whatever the theoretical value of the decision, it can hardly ever be carried out in practice.

We have now, as we flatter ourselves, established some claim to public confidence, when we assert that there is not one of the cases set forth in this work of which we could not satisfactorily dispose, if we had space and leisure, and if we could believe that our readers would have patience for the discussion. Instead, then, of going through all the cases which this writer produces, we shall content ourselves with throwing out certain leading con-

siderations, which if applied to them in detail, would be found to explain whatever has, *prima facie*, an unsatisfactory appearance. For our object, we repeat, is not so much to satisfy Protestants, as to remove any distress which pious Catholics might suffer, under the dread of that being unanswerable, which their own experience or line of reading does not enable them at the moment to refute.

It must then be borne in mind, first, that even St. Alphonso, though certainly a safe, is not an infallible guide, the gift of infallibility not being guaranteed to any individual divine, on any subject, least of all on one where, as in moral theology, truth depends upon the adjustment of a balance of practical considerations. This alone is certain, that a writer in whose favour the Apostolic See has so unequivocally pronounced, must be supposed to have committed himself to no opinion at variance with essential morality, and that no confessor can fall into anything worse than a mere material error, by deciding in conformity to the judgment of such an authority. But since St. Alphonso himself, without living much beyond the age of man, came to the conclusion that some of his earlier judgments were mistaken, (which is the fact), it is possible, that had his life been still further prolonged, the catalogue of "*Questiones reformatæ*" which he has appended to the later editions of his work, might have been enlarged; although, since Almighty God, who directed him in all that he did for the Church, did not permit such an event, we may piously believe, that the work as it stands, with its actual corrections, is a safe and sufficient guide. But objectors are very apt to make St. Alphonso responsible for every opinion advanced in the earlier editions of his *Theology*, even for those which he has retracted in the later.

2. It is important to observe that propositions attributed by Pascal the Younger, and others of his class, to certain Popes, are propositions, not always sanctioned, but often contrariwise condemned, by those Pontiffs.

3. And as we have all along insisted, it is one thing to find excuses for conduct after the fact, and another to counsel the same course before it. A Catholic teacher points out the way of avoiding sin; a confessor has (among other things) to relieve a contrite spirit from the pressure of a discouraging and unhealthy *remorse*.

4. Let those who criticise the decisions of the *Church*

on moral questions, advert, for a moment, to the standard of morality which prevails in *the world*, and then, let them recollect, that the Church has to deal with the world as it is, and not as she would have it be. She *teaches* according to the strictest standard, but she *decides* according to the most equitable.

5. St. Alphonso formed his judgments upon the exhibition of human nature in a southern country. No one pretends that he had a revelation upon the actual state of society in England, nor does any prudent Catholic deny that his rules admit of certain modifications applicable to our own country. He had no conception, because he had no experience, of the conventional morality of a Protestant country; of the allowances, for instance, sanctioned or tolerated, in pecuniary and commercial transactions, the tricks of trade, the fictions of law, or again (to go to an entirely different matter), the license permitted in the social intercourse of the sexes. On the other hand he had no idea of the high doctrines broached in England on the virtues of plain dealing and veracity, and of the little care exercised in our unscientific nation to adjust those great social qualities with the claims of our duty to God. It is thus that in Catholic countries the first place is given to the supernatural, and but the second to the merely neighbourly virtues; while with a Protestant people the rule is reversed. Among the poorer classes in England, and (still more) in Wales, purity before marriage is the exception; cross the channel to Ireland, and it will be found the all but invariable rule.* On the contrary, the irascible and headstrong passions are developed to excess in southern countries; in our own they are held in check by prudence and calculation. Irish and Italians are proverbially hot-headed, Englishmen prudent, Scotchmen "canny." Hence we may expect to find, and we do find, that a writer like St. Alphonso, who has a southern experience only, appears to Englishmen over indulgent in the matter of the irascible, and over strict in that of the concupiscible vices. As to the matter

* We choose Ireland as a more acknowledged instance. Missionaries who are intimately acquainted with the relative spiritual condition of Italy and England, report that the disadvantage is equally on our side in comparison with the Italian poor.

of fair dealing, we really believe that there is in England a very real and a very valuable appreciation of it; all we hope is that we Catholics may come in for a little more of the benefit of its exercise. The other subject (of veracity) we cannot dismiss without one or two passing observations, which we consider to the point, although they are obviously inadequate to a question which a volume would hardly suffice to elucidate.

A journal which is understood to represent the opinions of the highest Church party in the Establishment, and which is loud in its professions of English fairness, has lately charged the Catholic Church with what it calls, a "theory of lying."* We are almost tempted to reply, that if we have the theory, Protestants are conspicuous for the practice. Let any one but reflect, for an instant, upon the lies, palpable and enormous, of which Catholics and their religion have been the subject in England during the year now drawing to its close—lies oft repeated and as often exposed, and again for the hundredth time uttered by grave dignitaries in Church and State; by bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, rectors, curates, members of parliament, mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, magistrates; embodied in addresses to the throne, in petitions to parliament, in pamphlets, in reviews, in tracts, in platform speeches, in parliamentary debates, in police reports, in leading articles; flung around, in short, with the authority of every name which can afford them sanction, and through the medium of every channel which can give them currency—and then, with the full force of this fact upon his mind, let him pass judgment upon a writer, who upon the strength of a representation which he receives through an imperfect if not a distorted medium, can bring a sweeping charge against what he professes to believe the Church of God, or a portion of it, of erecting falsehood into a system; while, as to the unblushing practice of this odious vice, (and that too, not in self-defence, or in defence of religion, or established government, or anything else that is good and great, but) in the exercise of the most unchristian hatred against God's Church and its members, and those

* See the "Guardian" newspaper of August the 27th, of the current year.

members his own compatriots, neighbours, and former friends, he either ignores facts, or frames apologies.

We have already admitted that Englishmen as a nation are undoubtedly alive to the virtues which concern the intercourse of man with his neighbour; we also think, that, on the other hand, their protests against Catholic "amphibology," are not a little pedantic and unreal. Despite all their eloquent invectives against our doctrine on equivocation, which of them is there who hesitates to act on that doctrine in the ordinary affairs of life? How many excellent people positively sanction, how many more indolently tolerate, how few unequivocally condemn, the conventional fictions "Not at home," "Not guilty," and the like? Who of them would encourage in practice, however he may seem to sanction in controversy, a view of morality which would give all the Paul Pry's of society a right to ask any impertinent question they might please, with the certainty of receiving either a true answer, or such an one as at any rate they might construe into a virtual acknowledgment of the fact at which they desired to arrive? Such a doctrine as these men *profess* would in fact amount to a complete premium upon impudence; no final objection to it we admit if it were sanctioned by the law of God, but any how an antecedent difficulty in its way; while in fact it is found to derive no countenance whatever from the practice even of our Blessed Lord Himself, to say nothing of Saints of the Old Testament. Was Sir Walter Scott, for instance, bound to avow himself as the author of Waverley, to every coxcomb who chose to put the question to him? Was he bound to give an answer which would have been tantamount to an avowal? Will Protestant moralists do us the favour of devising for an author in such circumstances, a reply which will at once give, and suggest, no information whatever to an impertinent questioner, and yet stop short of a denial? Or will he take the opposite line and argue that an author has no right over his own secret? Carry the same consideration from the province of authorship into that of law, of medicine, of commerce, and see whether everywhere you are not obliged to tolerate, and even allow, a practice at variance with your fine theory; or, if you will not go so far as this with us, candidly acknowledge that the whole subject is so beset with difficulty, as to make any scientific analysis of it a gain, and at any rate to deprive of the right of

objection to what pretends to be such, those who have no counter theory to produce. If you choose to say that Protestants tell fewer lies without a theory than Catholics with one, we take leave to deny your assertion, and beseech you to bear in mind, that there are men on our side who have tried both systems, and have therefore a better right to be heard than those of you who have tried but one. Nor let it be forgotten that those Protestants are not many who would be prepared to assent to the uniform teaching of our theologians and spiritual writers; viz., that *it is not lawful to tell one venial lie, though a man might thereby ransom all the souls in hell.**

In the pamphlet to which we have already given too large a share of our attention, there is one insinuation which we must not altogether overlook, because it has lately found an echo from a quarter where such a response might least have been expected. At page 19 of this pamphlet, we meet with words which can mean nothing less than to imply that priests are to be found, who would, upon occasions, violate the seal of confession. We Catholics know not when and where we are secure. We had thought that if there were any charge which, by consent even of our enemies, was supposed too monstrous to bring against us, it had been that of an indifference, on the part of priests, to the sanctity of this particular obligation. We had believed in our simplicity, not that any supposed respect for laws human or divine, any sentiment of honour, any sense of the duties reciprocal to an act of reposed confidence, or other creditable motive, but that our character for prudence, our proverbial eye to the security of priestcraft, to the maintenance of ecclesiastical power and influence over subservient flocks and too confiding disciples, would have saved us with the world from the effect of *this* peculiar calumny. But it seems we were mistaken. All against which we have actually been protected in the pages of "*Pascal the Younger*," has been the overt charge of this especial baseness. An innuendo definite enough to

* The words of St. Ignatius (the Founder of the supposed school of lax Theology) are "*Tantum ac tale est malum,*" (*peccatum veniale*) "*ut, teste Sto. Anselmo, nec pro salute omnium angelorum atque hominum expediret fieri vel unicum peccatum veniale.*"

awaken suspicion, not so distinct as to provoke retort, was a masterpiece of controversial ingenuity too effective to let go. A more ingenuous and high minded writer, whom it is painful even to name in such company, has openly brought the same charge against a portion of the clergy in a foreign city. Perhaps he was too artless to observe the slip in controversy, more probably he was too candid to care for it, but at any rate disputants more subtle and more determined, will hesitate, for once, to borrow a calumny against the Church, because they will see it to involve a self-contradiction. They will be quick to discern that the whole power of the confessional, as a spiritual engine, hinges upon the inviolability of the Seal.* Even Protestants, we should think, will admit that from the very nature of the case, no evidence can be producible (as none is produced), sufficient to overcome the antecedent improbability, to say the very least of any confessor, who had once so abused his trust, having future opportunities of repeating his offence. On the other hand, as every well instructed Catholic knows, there is the strongest antecedent probability, that (supposing the story to have any foundation at all) what looks like a revelation of secrets learned in confession, although essentially other and altogether innocent and lawful, might, where the recipient of the tale is not a Catholic, or the informer a bad, or ill-instructed one, be mistaken for that most dreadful, even among sacerdotal crimes.

And now, in conclusion, let us once more guard the reader against mistaking this article for what it is not. That which it is not, is an Essay on the principles of Catholic Morality; a conceivable, perhaps a desirable work, but one, at any rate, which does not fall within the scope and profession of this attempt. All which that attempt undertakes is, to review a book, which, although a single and a small one, is an average specimen of its class. This book professes, in a triumphant strain, to shew up the current morality of the Church, as sophistical and wicked. What we have undertaken, and, as we claim, with success, is to convict this book itself of the dishonesty and wickedness which it imputes to us; a grave accusa-

* We find, however, that the "Guardian" apparently credits the statement in question.

tion indeed, but one from which the utmost latitude of Christian charity will not suffer us to take refuge, save in the supposition of an amount of ignorance and dullness, which would involve, of necessity, no fault at all if combined with modesty, but which, when committed to the cause of swelling a senseless and wicked outcry against the Christians of north, south, east, and west, with their ecclesiastical rulers, from the Supreme Pontiff, down to the humblest missionary Priest, assumes the character of such inexcusable presumption, as is separated by but a faint line, from more subtle forms of iniquity. But we rather fear that the hypothesis upon which charity, as regulated by truth, must compel us to settle, is that which subjects the work before us to the charge of moral perverseness and intellectual incompetency together; of malice combined with ignorance, which, while in no degree forming its apology, is abundantly sufficient to supply its antidote, with all readers who do not start, like the great majority of our Protestant fellow-countrymen, with assuming it as a first principle in the controversy, that the Catholic Church is more likely to be in the wrong, than any man, woman, or child, who chooses to assail her.

ART. VI.—*The Lady and the Priest.* An Historical Romance. By MRS. MABERLY, Author of "Emily," "Leontine," "Melanthe," "Fashion," &c. 3 vols., 8vo. London: Colburn, 1851.

WHEN some of Foote's friends were expressing their regret at his having been kicked in Dublin, Dr. Johnson declared that, on the contrary, it was rather a subject of congratulation. "He is rising in the world," said the doctor; "when he was in England, *no one thought it worth while to kick him.*" If Catholics needed anything to console or cheer them under the manifold abuse, insult, and misrepresentation, of which they have been the object for the last twelve months, they might well apply this

philosophic observation to themselves. If the past year presents, in this respect, a striking contrast with those which had preceded it, the true reason is to be found in the increasing numbers, influence, and activity of the Catholic body. If Catholics are beaten and abused now, it is because they have become formidable. If the storm of violence with which they have been visited, was not earlier raised against them, it was not because there was any want of disposition on the part of the assailants, but because it was "not worth while to assail them."

There are very few, we imagine, who will not now admit that the so-called Papal Aggression was but the pretext, or, at most, the occasion, for this fierce and sustained assault upon Catholics and Catholic principles, the consummation of which seems now to have arrived. The real source of the heart-burning lay far deeper. The real aggression upon Protestantism came from within. It lay in the revelation, which the events of the last ten years have made, of its own internal hollowness and weakness. When those who had been accustomed, from earliest youth, to look upon their Church as one of the institutions of the empire, which, however it might be assailed from without, at least rested securely upon its own foundations, and held by unchanging tenure the allegiance of its own subjects, discovered upon a sudden that doubt had begun to arise and to become diffused; that doubt was deepening into distrust, and that distrust was rapidly turning to discontent, and even to disaffection; when they found disaffection assume a definite form and purpose; when they saw distrust of the authority of England gradually shape itself first into respect, then into reverence, and eventually into submission, to that of Rome; above all, when they saw piety, learning, reputation, rank, earnestness, and influence, withdrawing from their side, and ranging themselves with her whom they had hitherto despised, or rather, in the fulness of their contempt, ignored altogether; then it was that the natural decay of Anglicanism was assumed to be a result of the aggressive policy of Rome. The discontent, and jealousy, were the same, and had long existed; but they now found a new object. The bitter ingredients so long fermenting in the caldron, at length reached the boiling point, and the overflow was but the more fierce and more universal, that it had been so long delayed.

And thus it is really wonderful how skilfully and how

successfully the current has been diverted from its true and natural channel. With the exception of the brief and casual episode of St. Barnabas, the real source of the tumult has been entirely ignored. A few faint and faltering protests against the "concealed Romanism" of the Tractarians, have occasionally lent a little variety to the proceedings of the country meetings; but the brunt of the violence has uniformly fallen upon old Popery; and here, as elsewhere, this traditionary scape-goat has been made to bear the sins of the real offender.

Still it is impossible, even for those who have been most earnest in urging forward the movement, to shut their eyes to the fact, that it has been a hollow and ephemeral one. There is not a symptom of reality about it. Not one great principle of its own growth has been evolved in its progress, not a single new element has been introduced into the contest. The topics of declamation have uniformly been the same old and hacknied bugbears by which the terrors of the past generation were wont to be kept alive. It has, perhaps, helped off the old stock, which was growing mouldy upon the shelves; but not a single fresh fashion, or a single new material, has been produced for the occasion.

Indeed it is, to some extent, amusing, to turn over in any of the published catalogues, the lists of the new polemical publications, which have literally flooded the market within the last ten months, and to see how large a proportion among them, if you except those which bear upon the purely legal question, are utterly without reference to the immediate cause of the excitement. New editions of anti-Roman Theology, *rifaccimenti* of lectures upon Popery, hacknied sketches of papal and priestly domination, tirades against the Inquisition and the *Index Expurgatorius* familiar to the ears of our forefathers since the days of Lord George Gordon;—these, and such as these, will be found to make up the staple of the No Popery literature of the past season; and the very titles of the majority of the publications, will sufficiently shew that Catholicism in itself, and not the aggressive step into which it is sought to torture the decree, for the establishment of the hierarchy, is the true object of this fierce attack.

And yet there are some writers who, even in works of a more general character, have taken occasion from the excitement itself, to address themselves to the

prejudices and passions aroused in this crisis. No Catholic who had watched the progress of light literature in England for the last few years, could have failed to observe a slight but growing improvement in its general tone, in reference to our religion. If we except a few books of the Hawkstone school, hardly any professedly anti-Catholic novels had appeared of late years; and there seemed to be far less of bitterness in the views and language of the few which occasionally did appear, than used to mark the novels of the olden time. And hence it is that we regard as one of the least pleasing signs of the times, and as one of the most formidable evidences of a return to the ancient feuds, and to the bigotry on which these feuds were founded, the revival, and we are sorry to add, the reviving popularity, of one of the oldest, and, for the general public, most pernicious, enemies of truth,—the “no popery novel,” in its very worst form, even such as it existed in the days of “Monk,” Lewis, and the kindred panderers to the prejudices of Protestantism. The novels of the last season display more malignity than we ever expected to see again exhibited, at least in works destined for the perusal of the educated and enlightened.

There are some, we are aware, who may feel disposed to look with utter indifference upon this class of literature, to regard as of very little importance the influence which it is calculated to exercise, and to consider it entirely below the serious notice even of the most nervous observer of the signs of the times. But we have more than once expressed our own sense of its importance. Contemptible as it may be for its own sake, no impressions, we feel assured, can possibly prove more pernicious than those which are skilfully conveyed through its medium; and the influence which it may be presumed to possess at all times, is naturally increased in a period of excitement like the present, and at a time when the diffusion of cheap literature, and the immense multiplication of readers, especially in the least suspicious and most impressible classes, have enlarged a hundred-fold the sphere of its action.

However heartily, therefore, we may ourselves despise the tawdry and ill-conceived sketches which, for the most part, characterize religious fiction, yet we are far from underrating their effect upon others; and we do not hesitate to own to a certain admixture of regret with the shame and indig-

nation which have been stirred within us by more than one of the publications of the past season. We could not but remember that, silly and malignant as they must seem to Catholics, and to those who know anything of Catholics or their principles, there were, nevertheless, thousands of unsuspecting readers by whom they would be received without doubt and without question, and on whose minds the impression made by them would be just as fatal and as permanent, as though it were founded on truth and justice itself. We shall be excused, therefore, we trust, if we devote a few pages to a subject which, however frivolous and unworthy of serious notice it may appear in some respects, involves, nevertheless, many and most important interests, especially at a time like the present. Our object is rather to show, by example, to what an extent the evil has gone, than to enter into a serious consideration of the work to which we shall have occasion to refer.

We have selected, as a type of the class, the work which stands at the head of these pages, chiefly because it appears to have attracted more notice, and to have obtained a wider circulation than any of its competitors in the race of bigotry. It must be recollected that the "Lady and the Priest" belongs to a branch of the novel-writing art, in which the calumnies against Catholics, but too common in the whole class, are at once most dangerous and most inexcusable. It professes to be an *Historical Romance*, and to deal with real characters well known in the history of the times in which they lived. We need hardly say that this species of fiction, while it leaves a great part to the fancy and invention of the author, has certain laws of its own, just as well as serious history; and that the violation of these conventional laws may involve, and often does involve, as grave a violation of historical justice, as a departure from truth in the ordinary narrative of history. The historical novelist is as strictly bound to represent fairly the character, the principles, and, in so far as it involves either of these, the conduct, of the personages whom he introduces, as is the historian himself. The license of fiction, wide and unrestricted as it is in all else beside, stops short here. There is a strict compact to this effect between the author and the public for whom he writes; and to violate this compact is to sin not merely against the rules of art, but against those of truth, justice, and honesty itself.

Unfortunately, also, there are but too many in these days whose impressions of history, if they be not altogether derived from these slippery sources, are at all events shaped and modified by them. For the young and unsuspecting, for the imperfectly educated, for the countless multitudes, of whose mental aliment the circulating libraries and cheap book-clubs form the chief and almost the sole depository, the historical novel is all but an oracle. It offers a sort of compromise between light and serious reading; and, on that understanding, is but too often accepted without hesitation and without enquiry. Nor, however we may condemn and deplore the weakness of such a confidence on the reader's part, can we conceive anything more base and cruel than a literary or historical deceit practised by an author under such circumstances, and upon victims so defenceless and unsuspecting.

The romance before us makes special profession of historical truthfulness. It not only purports by its title to delineate faithfully and truly the historical characters which it introduces, but to such a length is this profession of fidelity carried, that the author thinks it necessary to apologize, in the preface, even for her departure from the ancient forms of speech in recording the conversations which are introduced into the narrative. If for the substitution of the modern conversational tone in the place of these quaint and obsolete addresses, a formal explanation is deemed necessary, it can hardly be supposed that a writer thus scrupulously alive to the necessity of maintaining the proprieties of the language of the period, should not exhibit equal, or rather far greater, delicacy of conscience in all that concerns the integrity of the history in its more essential bearings.

Now we do not hesitate to say, that in all these really essential bearings, it has never been our lot to see the truth, the propriety, and even the probability, of history more recklessly and more disgracefully disregarded, than in the "*Lady and the Priest*." A book so blindly bigoted in all its views, so reckless in its statements, so crooked in its perversion of facts, so unscrupulous in its imputation of motives, so revolting in its exaggeration of diabolical wickedness, so ingenious in its invention of black and malignant schemes, so regardless of virtue, of delicacy, and of moral principle, in the pursuit of its object,—so fertile, in a word, in all the worst expedients of misrepresentation, we

have never suffered the pain of perusing. It carries us back into the very darkest and blindest days of the fanaticism over which all good men weep. Instead of the year of grace 1851, we should naturally expect to find upon its title, the imprint of the fiery days of Lord George Gordon, or we should rather say, of the disgraceful years when calumny and falsehood were enthroned and worshipped in the person of Oates and Bedloe.

It is painful to write thus of a book which comes before us with a female name upon its title-page. But to write otherwise would be a weak betrayal of our trust. Truth is stronger than gallantry. Morality must be heard before politeness. And, in truth, it would be but an equivocal homage to the purity, the modesty, the delicacy, and the other qualities of which the sex is the ideal impersonation, to suffer them to be outraged and insulted with impunity, under the undeserved protection of its name. The author of the "*Lady and the Priest*" has unsexed herself by its very conception. The title-page, indeed, displays a female name; but the character, and even the pretension, ceases there. We miss, in the very choice of the subject, in the delineation of the characters, in the selection of the incidents, in the portraiture of the actors, in the whole tenor of the work, the modesty, the gentleness, the womanly tenderness, the delicacy, even the decent reserve, which we are accustomed to associate with the idea of woman; and there are opinions, incidents, expressions, and insinuations in the book before us, which disentitle the author to the privileges of her sex, just as plainly as if, like a well-known foreign contemporary, she had discarded the female garb altogether. It is impossible in reading the book to close one's eyes to these reiterated disavowals of the character to which the title-page makes claim. It is impossible not to feel that this title is but a mask wherewith to cover a hard, acrimonious, ungentle spirit; and, feeling this, it would be a false delicacy not to deal with it accordingly.

Perhaps we should apologize for bringing these things before our readers at all; and, undoubtedly, at another time, we should have shrunk from the unpleasing office. But there are times when it would be wrong to judge by ordinary rules of action. The excitement from which the country is just beginning to recover, was an extraordinary and unnatural one; and its very excess is at once the explanation and apology of any extraordinary course to

which it may give occasion. It is well that Catholics should know the means by which the mind of England has been stirred against them. It is well, still more, that the eyes of Protestants should be opened to the black and malignant arts by which they have been deceived into their fanaticism.

"The Lady and the Priest" professes to be the story of the great contest between the crown and the mitre, in the persons of Henry II. and Thomas-a-Becket. Becket is "the Priest." His history is shaped so as to bear upon the prevailing topic of controversy during the late momentous year; and in order to give point and interest to the story, his fortunes are mixed up with those of the celebrated Rosamond Clifford, better known as "Fair Rosamond," the most famous of the mistresses of Henry II. Fair Rosamond is "the Lady."

At the opening of the tale, "the Priest" is an obscure monk,—the prior of the monastery of Severnstoke. The Lady, during the absence of her father, Lord de Clifford, in the Holy War, is a half novice, half ward, of the convent of Godstowe, of which Becket is the director and guiding spirit. The fortunes of both are traced to their close; those of Rosamond to the crisis of a series of foul intrigues, of which she is represented as the object,—those of Becket to his bloody death at the altar of his own cathedral.

The characters throughout are professedly historical. The king Henry,—his queen Eleanor,—Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury,—De Montfort,—De Essex,—Ranulph de Broc, and many minor agents, are selected from among the actors in the real drama of the time; and everything is done to give an appearance of reality to the events out of which the narrative is woven.

Now what will the reader guess is the tale which this writer, so squeamishly alive to the most minute proprieties of language, deliberately places before her readers as the "romance of the history" of the great papist saint and martyr, Thomas of Canterbury? It is as follows:

He is introduced to the reader as the prior of the monastery of Severnstoke, profoundly ambitious, fully conscious of his great natural and acquired gifts, but artfully disguising this consciousness and the proud hopes built thereon, under the appearance of humility, meekness, austerity, and zeal for the interests and honour of religion. Among the many occupations to which his life is devoted,

the spiritual direction of the convent of Godstowe is brought prominently forward, manifestly with an intended bearing upon one of the incidents of the past year. The Superior-ess of this house is drawn after the true Protestant idea,—harsh, bigoted, acrimonious, tyrannical, hating the youth and beauty which are no longer her own, devoted to silly and superstitious observances, and seeking only to enrich and aggrandize her convent, which in her contracted view, is identified with religion and the Church itself. In the exercise of this hateful vocation, Rosamond Clifford is one of the chief objects of her intrigues. Her father's long absence in the Holy War has rendered it more than probable that his broad lands will speedily pass into the hands of his only child and heiress; and the scheme by which it is sought to entrap her against her will, and thus to secure her inheritance for "the Church," is but one of several episodes incidentally introduced into the book to suit the events of the time, and for the purpose of adapting it to the bad excitement to which it seeks to pander. Becket, to whose guardianship this fair young girl had been entrusted by her father, and whose heart, cold and self-wrapt as it is, is not insensible to her beauty and innocence, is for a time a party to this nefarious scheme. He is only induced to discourage it by the hope of turning the benefits which it is intended to secure to a greater personal advantage; and, to the infinite mortification of the lady abbess, "the heiress," through the agency of her youthful lover, Ranulph de Broc, is withdrawn from the convent and restored to her father's castle.

It is here she is first seen and loved by Henry. It is here also that Henry first learns the capacity and the acquirements of the hitherto obscure monk, and calls him to his service;—and it is here that the ambitious priest first gives full reins to his ambition, and lays the first lines of that web of mingled craft and daring, to the weaving of which his after life was devoted.

We can hardly prevail upon ourselves to pursue the foul and hateful tale. From the first moment that Becket sees the prospect of advancement open before him, he throws aside every principle of honour and of justice. He first intrigues for the ruin of De Montfort and De Essex, his rivals in the affections of his master; next he secures, by adroit management, the withdrawal from England of Lord Clifford, Rosamond's father, and De Broc, her devoted

though unrequited lover; and thus removes every impediment to the atrocious scheme by which he seeks to make her the instrument of his favour with the king, whose passion he was not slow to discover, and to whose guardianship, notwithstanding, he induces her father to consign her at his departure. In all these preliminaries, he manages to conceal his agency altogether; and these obstacles being removed, he allows the plot to develope itself. Rosamond, conscious of her love for the king, by an impulse of instinctive modesty, seeks to withdraw from the court; but Becket, her confessor and guardian, overrules her scruples, interposes his authority, *as her spiritual director*, to prevent her retirement, and, in a word, becomes a pander to the illicit love of his master! And this, while he himself, though unavowedly even to his own heart, loves the very victim whom he thus basely sacrifices to his bad ambition!

Rosamond, even though fallen, is tormented by remorse. But Becket, who has been sent to France upon an embassy, had taken the precaution of *prohibiting her from applying to any other confessor during his absence*; and upon his return, consummates his infamous scheme by *absolving her from the sin and declaring it not sin*, on condition of her *bestowing all her wealth and all her lands upon the Church, and swearing to exercise all her influence with the king for the interest of religion!*

It is to these base arts, and such as these, as much as to his extraordinary powers, that the author traces his favour with the king, and especially his elevation to the See of Canterbury. He surrenders himself without reserve, as the pander and confidant of Henry's passions. He prostitutes his sacred ministry by baptizing the children of this unlawful love; he sullies his honour and self-respect by lavishing caresses on them; he maintains the most affectionate relations with their fallen mother: but having at last, by thus flattering the vices of the king, accomplished the great object of his ambition in securing the archiepiscopal throne, he turns upon the master to whom he owed all his fortunes, and by a mixture of hypocrisy, daring, and intrigue, openly proposes to subject to himself, as bishop, the very power to which he had before prostituted all the spiritual gifts at his disposal.

The history of Becket's "aggression" upon the rights of the crown, is a wretched compound of ignorance, mis-

representation, and malignity. It displays the most deplorable unacquaintance not alone with the facts of the case, but even with the grounds of the controversy. As a sample of the writer's accuracy in this particular we need only say that she represents the bishops, as claiming the right of judging in all cases of murder (ii. 251.), and passes over altogether among the "customs" against which St. Thomas protested, the very worst and most objectionable of them all;—that of appropriating the revenues of vacant sees during the time of their vacancy—a direct premium upon the fraudulent practice of prolonging such vacancies, introduced by William Rufus.

These, and many similar misrepresentations, however, we pass over, to come to the blackest and foulest of the imputations upon Becket. Having thus, with diabolical craft and hypocrisy, looked on and assisted in the ruin of this confiding girl, he avails himself of the terror and alarm into which she is plunged by the prospect of her father's return, and the fear of his anger, to offer her his own unhallowed love, as the price of the protection which he professes that he alone can afford her! And on her indignant rejection of this profligate proposal, his love turns to undisguised and implacable hatred. He pursues her, her children, and her friends, with every species of malicious cruelty; he employs the most terrible of the arms of the church as the instruments of his fiendish malice; and by an unscrupulous use of these weapons, closes up against her, through the superstitious fears of the slaves of the Church, every refuge, even that convent of Godstowe, where her youth had been spent. Nay, so elaborately has the author drawn out this hateful sketch, that she even attributes the inveteracy of Becket's hostility towards the king, to the rage and jealousy of disappointed love!

We blush at the thought of polluting our pages with these hateful and disgusting details: but we cannot help thinking that they are necessary, as a portion of the history of the great protestant movement of the past year. The idea conveyed by this hasty summary of the tale, however, would be quite incomplete. It is necessary to read the book itself in order to understand the full measure of its malignity. And painful as it is to ourselves to transcribe, and distressing as it will be to the reader to peruse them, we feel it our duty to submit a few extracts as specimens of the class of representations of Catholics and Catholic

opinions, which have become popular in England, and upon which the fiery exhibitions which have astonished and disgusted all the nations of the continent are mainly founded.

Take for example the following sample of Catholic morality and moral teaching. Rosamond, conscious of her own weakness, seeks to fly from the dangers of Henry's court, and consults her confessor, Becket.

"'Reverend father, you know that I have ever obeyed you in all things. I would do so now, but that I cannot, I cannot remain here,' said Rosamond, in a tone of deep distress.

"'Thy duty, my daughter, comes before thy wish.'

"'My duty,' said Rosamond, sinking upon her knees, and crossing her hands upon her breast, 'my duty commands me to be gone—my duty to God.'

"'The King and the Queen are thy protectors, my child,' said Becket, with an air of paternal benevolence; 'thy father placed thee in their charge. Hast thou consulted their wishes? Hast thou obtained their consent?'

"'I have not dared to speak of such a thing,' replied Rosamond, timidly.

"'And why not?' asked Becket, austere.

"'Because,' said Rosamond, 'I knew they would not consent. I would be gone without their knowledge; but,' she added with humility, 'not without yours, my father, and not without your blessing and your pardon.'

"'Pardon!' echoed Becket.

"'Yes, my father, for I have sinned—sinned in thought; but I repent me of my sin.'

"'It shall be forgiven thee, my daughter, if thou confessest.'

"'I will—I do, my father, though shame makes me dumb,' said Rosamond, in a voice of agony, as the blood, rushing to her face, in a moment dyed it crimson. She then added, in a low tone, 'The King has spoken to me of love.'

"'Ha!' exclaimed Becket, with a well-feigned gesture of surprise.

"'Such words,' continued Rosamond, gathering courage from her despair, 'as a maiden may not hear from one already the husband of another.'

"'And is it for this that thou wouldst fly?' asked Becket, with an intonation that, slight as it was, made Rosamond start.

"'And it is not enough, my father? Why should one speak of love to me who cannot be his wife?' said Rosamond, with an air of simplicity touching in its sadness.

"'The King is young and thoughtless,' replied Becket, apologetically; 'he could not mean thee harm, my daughter.'

"'Father,' said Rosamond, more gravely than before, 'I am very young—almost a child, and unskilled in this world's ways. Of right or wrong I know no nice distinctions; but this I know, that when I listened to the words of love from one already wedded, it seemed to me as though it were a deadly sin; and yet I would not cause displeasure to the King. It is for this that I would leave the court.'

"'To pine and wither in the convent's gloom,' observed Becket insidiously. Rosamond shuddered from head to foot.

"'I know it, my father,' she said in a low voice.

"'Daughter,' resumed Becket, after a few moments of consideration, 'thou hast not told me all; there is another reason, stronger than the King's love for thee, that urges thee to fly.'

"Rosamond started, as if some sudden sting had reached her heart.

"'And that is,' continued her pitiless tormentor, 'thy love for him.'

"A faint cry, which she could not suppress, burst from her lips, and she covered her burning face with her hands, as she actually writhed at his feet. The rectitude of her heart was, however, stronger than the terrible feelings of shame she endured; and the conviction of pardon and safety lying solely in the fulness of confession, which from her infancy had been impressed upon her, gave her an unnatural courage. She raised her head once more, and, although her voice was low and tremulous, she said distinctly,

"'Yes, my father, you have said it—it is my love for him.'

"'Fear nothing, my daughter,' answered Becket, encouragingly; 'thou hast nought to fear.'

"A light, like a sunbeam breaking through the winter cloud, passed over the agitated countenance of Rosamond, and was gone. The look of doubt and terror came back upon her face, and her large blue eyes were fixed with touching earnestness upon him whom she firmly believed could guard or annihilate both body and soul.

"'Fear nothing, my daughter,' he continued; 'thy heart is in thine own keeping. Thou wouldst not so love the King didst thou not think his love was equal to thine own. Thou believest in his love?—answer me truly.'

"'I believe,' answered Rosamond, with a frankness that showed the purity of her intentions, 'that he loves me even as he has sworn to me—better than his kingdom or his life—that he has no will but mine—no wish but that which I should tell him to obey.'

"'And hast thou no pride, my daughter, thus to rule and govern the heart of a King?'

"'By reason of his being a King, none, my father,' replied Rosamond coldly..

"'The destinies of nations might lie at thy command,' said Becket

gently, as he slowly scanned the beautiful and ingenuous face that was now upraised before him. But it remained unmoved; and then he added, '*And all the holy church throughout the world might bless the day that gave thee power to turn a mind so fruitful to her glory. Great deeds of honour to the Lord, and to the holy saints, might spring from a word of thine.*'

"Rosamond, whose religious and somewhat superstitious feelings were deeply interwoven with all others, seemed for a moment struck by these words. The same expression of hope and joy flitted across her face; but it sank again into melancholy, and a deep sigh broke from her lips as she said,

"*But to do evil that good may come is equally a sin; is it not, my father?*"

"*All may be forgiven, if done to the glory of God. The welfare of his holy church is gracious to his eyes; and the desire to serve her truly sanctifies many a means,*' replied Becket; and then he continued in a more hurried tone, 'but these are temptations, my daughter—I would not have thee think of these.'—vol. ii. pp. 120—127.

Again, nothing could be more revolting than the contrast which the following scene is intended to exhibit, and which of its own nature must be meant to have an application.

"But not even the goodness of her motive, the honesty and simplicity of her faith, and submission to that which she conceived to be her duty, could still the vile passions of man; and a demon in human form, still deeper dyed in infamy by the sacred garb he wore, was there with ready hand to pluck the support from her trembling foot, and precipitate her into the gulf below. Ambition is the troubled ocean of wickedness. It sweeps before it all that would oppose its progress. The mighty mind of Becket had now opened its flood-gates. What to him was a crime more or less? What to him was a single life—above all, a single soul? It was as nothing—a leaf upon the autumn blast—a grain of sand upon the shore. The darling passion of his heart had burst forth,—the cherished maxim of his secret thoughts had budded in the first gleam of the prospering sun. Shall its fruit be blighted ere its luscious flavour has steeped his senses in delight? So weak a thought never had entered his mind

"*'The whole world is not enough for one great man,'* was his constant exclamation when communing with himself. It had been the dream of his youth, as it was now the business of his manhood. So rapid had been the strides he had made towards his goal, that it seemed to him already half attained; but, as the last steps of an ascent are ever the most steep, so the wary Becket knew that double vigilance was necessary in order to keep what he had gained, and to speed on his upward path. As every whole must be

worked out by detail, he suffered nothing, however trifling, to escape his notice. He liked to gather up the thoughts of every mind around him, and hold them in his hand like the ends of a skein of silk."—vol. ii. pp. 135—136.

There is more of baseness, however, in the imputation conveyed in the passage which we are about to transcribe. Nor has it even the poor excuse of passion to palliate its malignity. We hardly know in what terms to express our reprobation of the cowardly slanders with which every paragraph teems.

"‘Holy father,’ replied Rosamond, thoughtfully, but very steadily, ‘I repent me of the sin—that is, I repent me of having given offence to God and broken his law ; but of the love that led me to that sin. I do *not* repent.’

"The honest simplicity with which poor Rosamond unveiled the secrets of her heart, almost provoked a smile from Becket ; but having satisfied himself of all he wanted to know, which was whether the love of Rosamond was strong enough to endure, he began to grow weary of the part he was playing. *The ceremony of confession had value in his eyes only in proportion to the secular advantages to be gained from it.* He hastened, therefore, somewhat to shift his ground. Making a sign to Rosamond to rise from her knees, he took two or three turns up and down the room ; then sitting down at the table, he said in a kinder tone than he had yet used,—

"‘My daughter, your fault is too strong for your mind. The voice of earthly passion has so darkened your sense, that you cannot form any wholesome judgment of what is true repentance and what is not. The spirit may truly be willing, but the flesh is weak. Our Holy Church, however, in its great mercy and loving kindness, has decreed that atonement may also wash away sin ; but if the sin be great, the atonement must be greater. Such is the law of our good and glorious Mother, the Holy Church of Rome, which has never erred, but gathers her pious and obedient children closely beneath her wings. Inasmuch as you have truly confessed, you, my daughter, have partly obeyed ; but what atonement are you ready to make to an offended God, if your sin be remitted to you ?’

"‘Father, in all things I will be guided by you ; but ask not —’

"‘Refrain,’ interrupted Becket, hastily, ‘refrain, my daughter, from such impious thoughts of love. Lift up your heart to Heaven, and pray the Virgin Queen to mediate between the Holy One and you. *Say, what upon her altar will you lay, if, through her intercession, you are pardoned now ?’*

"'Take all that I have—all!—all!' exclaimed Rosamond, rapturously, 'Take what you will, my father, so that I go not hence! Tell me what prayers and penance to endure, what fasts and vigils to observe; leave me but breath enough to live and love, and I will bless and worship you, even as I bless and worship the Saints above!'

"Again Becket felt sadness creeping over him as these wild words burst from the lips of the half-frantic girl. But he turned once more to his worldly gain:

"'Prayer and penance shall you have,' he said, slowly and sternly; 'for by it is the heart purified, and the spirit lifted from the grosser things of earth. Therefore, my daughter, listen to my words, and so shall you be cleansed from your sin. Three times each day before the image of the Blessed Virgin shall you stand barefooted, and pray, with ashes strewn upon your head, one hour each time; and till the last prayer is said you must not break your fast. Will you do this?'

"'I will, my father,' replied Rosamond, kneeling down.

"'And for sacrifice, much will be needed for a sin like yours. The anger of the Lord must be appeased. Are you prepared, at any cost, to buy the absolution of which you stand in need?' asked Becket, with an anxiety he could not wholly conceal.

"'Father, I am prepared. Say, what must I do?' asked Rosamond, eagerly.

"'You must give to the Holy Church everything you possess. Not only in alms, and jewels, and in gold must such an offering be made, but all your lands, castles, and retainers must pass at once into the keeping of the see of Rome. All that you now have, and all that you may one day possess, must alike be dedicated to the glory of God. I, as His poor minister here upon earth, will receive it at your hands. Say, he added, insidiously recalling to her thoughts his former threat, lest the enormous sacrifice demanded might in any degree raise a doubt within her mind, 'if I absolve you of your sin, thus rendering it no longer sin, and suffer you to remain within the palace of the King, will you fulfil all that I have said?'

"'My father, I will fulfil it; and from this hour I have no one possession on this earth. All, all is yours!' said Rosamond, as joyously as before she had spoken with grief.

"'Then swear it!' pursued Becket, solemnly; 'and swear, more over, in all things to be obedient to my will, and never to know aught that may concern the Holy Church without instantly apprising me of it. All that the King may say or do wherein her interests may be affected must you confide to me. All that you can do, by persuasion or advice, to advance her welfare or her power, must be fully done; else is your sin and that of Henry unatoned and unabsolved. Swear then, my daughter; and remember, if you break faith with me, even to the shadow of a thought, you shall be accused here and hereafter; you shall straightway be driven from the King; and in

the darkest depth of purgatory your soul shall lie for ever!—and for ever!”—vol. ii. pp. 282—287.

It is easy to perceive that in this and many other passages, the picture drawn of the ambitious and unscrupulous priest, is intended as a representation of a class rather than of an individual, and that the maxims put into his mouth are put forward as fundamental laws of popish morality. The effect of the picture, however, is heightened by the unscrupulous and all-absorbing ambition ascribed to Becket himself. In the following passage he is described, as upon the eve of the first great and decisive step in his career of unscrupulous intrigue.

“The vanity of Becket was gratified beyond measure by this conduct of the Queen; and when, sated with incense, he had taken his leave of her and retired to his own apartments, he threw himself upon his couch—but it was to think, and not to sleep. All that night he meditated upon his plans. What were vigils to him, compared to one hour of triumph or of power? Watchful was his nature; watchful had been his life; and the future might be, less than all, the season of repose. The iron strength of his mind towered above all physical wants or wishes; and although ease and luxury were the delights of his soul, ambition and vanity could o’ermaster both.

“The hours of darkness passed on; and Becket, motionless as a statue, retained the position he had at first assumed on entering his chamber. The gorgeous dress he had worn at the banquet gleamed in the dim light of two large waxen tapers, placed at the opposite end of the room, towards which he kept his bright eyes turned with a fixity that made them appear as though the eyelids never closed. It was the deep, abstracted look of one whose thoughts are far away, soaring to the future, or sinking in the past; yet never did these absorbing visions, even for a moment, cloud the intellect they bore upon their wings, so as to make it forgetful of the present. An hour-glass stood upon the table near his couch. Not once had the hand of Becket failed to turn it ere it was too late. Mechanically as he appeared to perform this action, each passing hour had been carefully noted by that ever vigilant brain; and the last time, as he turned the glass, he arose from his bed.

“No symptom of weariness escaped him. On the contrary, he traversed the room with the elastic step of youth; and, pushing back the hair from his forehead, he seemed to clear away thoughts of the past. A look of determination was on his brow; he knit his lips so firmly together, that they were totally concealed by his long black moustache.

“On reaching the opposite end of the room to that where he had

been lying, Becket took a key from the table, and lighted a small lamp that stood upon it. He then extinguished the tapers, and drew back the heavy cloth curtain that shaded the window. A faint blue light streamed in through the narrow panes of the casement; the clouds were breaking in the east. Becket walked to the hour-glass, and shook the sand: more than three-fourths remained in the upper part of the glass.

"'It is the time,' he said; 'in an hour the sun will rise.'"
—pp. 112—115.

And in accordance with this character, he is made to disregard every consideration, no matter how solemn or how sacred, in the pursuit of the one great object. "The ceremony of confession was to him but as an empty form, save in so far as it forwarded his views." (ii. 282.) He is represented as employing every instrument to compass his ends. In the whole circle by whom he is surrounded he can only see tools to work out his own aggrandisement, and the achievement of his own objects. "The life of woman was as nothing in his eyes, save as it conduced to his own security or advancement." (ii. 109.) His hypocrisy is described as knowing no bounds: his hatred, as no less implacable than his pride was unmeasured. Under an outward clothing of sanctity, he covered a heart which, had he but looked within, might have made him shudder at its depravity. (i. 301.) In his brief career, he crowded together whole "years of deceit and villany."

From all this, the reader will perhaps be prepared for the last revolting scene, to which we alluded in the summary. Rosamond, in her alarm at the reported return of her father, flies for counsel to Becket, her friend and counsellor, and above all, her confessor. He but confirms and exaggerates her alarms, by assuring her that her father would not fail to wipe out in blood the shame of her fall.

"'Shame!' echoed Rosamond, with a shudder; and then, as she looked up steadily into the face of Becket, she continued, 'if there is shame, why then there must be guilt? And yet, my father, how often have you told me I was absolved from every sin—and that in loving Henry, I was but fulfilling a Divine mission to work out, by my unworthy help, the welfare of the Church?'

"'It is true,' answered Becket, without quailing before this home charge: 'that is, it *was* true; but things remain not as they were.'

"'But truth remains, my father,' said Rosamond, with simpli-

city,—‘the pure and beauteous truth, the guiding star of our weak wanderings here. Truth stays with us, my father, does it not? Till now, you told me that my course was sinless, inasmuch as its end was good. If this was truth, my father, even as I held it from your words to be, why should I tremble now?’

“‘The eye of prejudice or of malice looks askance,’ replied the Archbishop evasively; ‘it may not see all things even as we do, who only view in all the glory of the Lord Most High. Walter de Clifford is a stern proud man.’”—vol. iii. pp. 41—42.

At last all concealment is at an end.

“The exultation with which these words were rapidly uttered, and the passionate excitement of Becket, so different from his usual cold and collected manner, fell upon the heart of Rosamond with a chill for which she could not account. She looked wonderingly up into the face of the Archbishop;—it was as altered as his tone. His dark eyes flashed fire; and the paleness of his cheek was replaced by a brilliant glow, which, with the profusion of dark hair he had suffered to grow round his face, gave him the appearance of being much younger than he really was. He was a splendid specimen of manly beauty; but Rosamond, as she looked upon him, saw it not. She only felt that he was changed,—and changed so completely that for an instant it occasioned her a feeling of alarm. An impression of fear suddenly rushed over her; and, spontaneously impelled by it, she loosened her hand from the grasp which Becket still retained of it. The movement recalled him to himself; for at that moment, maddened by ambition, his thoughts had wandered for an instant to other scenes. The endeavour of Rosamond did not succeed; he clasped her hand still closer than before, and with increasing fire went on.

“‘Yes, Rosamond, now you know all. I have unveiled before your eyes the secrets of my heart. To no other mortal ear have such words been given. I have trusted you with my very soul,—for I love you, Rosamond,—yes, I love you; but with a love so fierce, so ardent, that all other pales before it.’

“The passion with which these words were uttered, left no doubt upon the mind of Rosamond of the sense they were intended to convey. Shocked and terrified beyond all power of control, she started to her feet exclaiming,—

“‘This to me! from *you*, my father.’

“It was the last time she called him by that name.

“‘Yes!’ he replied, without heeding the dismay her looks expressed, ‘I love you, Rosamond, with a depth those only know who have not piecemeal squandered out their heart. Till now I had forsworn love.’

“‘Your vow! your vow!’ cried Rosamond, horrified almost beyond the power of speech.

"'Is nothing,' he replied, with a laugh of scorn. 'I need but speak the word, and Rome dissolves all vows, all oaths, all obligations. The Pope is lord of Heaven, and earth, and hell,—and more than God on earth. We that make laws, can unmake them at our will, for our will is the world's law. Fear not, Rosamond; be mine in peace—for mine you must be—mine you are; body and soul I claim you as my own.'

"'Never!' was the answer of Rosamond; but the vehemence with which she spoke the word made it sound like thunder to the astonished ear of Becket.

"'How?' he exclaimed, rising in anger as he beheld the indignation which shone on every feature of the beautiful face before him. 'You refuse? you do not love me?'

"'Love you!' echoed Rosamond, with a look of loathing that filled his proud heart with fury, 'Heaven is my witness,' she continued, and at every word she seemed to gather courage from the horror the thought inspired; 'I have loved you—you, who from my cradle I have looked to as a father and as a friend—I have loved you with a daughter's love. I have honoured and obeyed—obeyed, alas! alas! even to my own destruction.'

"'Call not that obedience,' said Becket angrily, 'which was but the headlong following of your own vile passion.' Then suddenly changing his tone, as if to give her an opportunity of at least palliating the harshness of her refusal, he said, 'All that is past may not be undone; but, for the future, I offer you happiness and power—power such as no other upon earth can ever bid you share. And what do you resign? I ask you but to give up a lover already weary of your charms: one, too, whose power trembles in his grasp; and, safe and far above the reach of harm, to dwell with me beneath the sheltering wings of Rome, all-powerful, uncontrolled. A mighty sacrifice I ask!—and yet you turn away. Rosamond, listen to me! think upon my love, and grant the prayer of one who never prayed till now! Angel in woman's form! I kneel and worship you. Give me but one soft look,—speak but one gentle word,—one word of love is all that I implore.'

"As he spoke, his voice sank into tones of the deepest tenderness; and, throwing himself upon his knees before her, he attempted to take her hand, but she started back more in horror than in fear, and boldly answered,—

"'No, no, I tell you, no! In vain you pray. No word of love for you shall ever pass my lips. The thought is hateful to my very soul. I may have sinned; I *have* sinned; and too late I see how deep and deadly was that sin which even you counselled and approved. I gave my heart with honesty and truth. I gave it once, and that once was for ever. I may not take it back, and even if danger threatens, even if he I love prove false, sooner than be the vile thing you would make me, let me die! Let me,' she continued, passionately clasping her hands and raising them to

heaven, 'oh, gracious God! oh, Virgin Mother! who from thy throne lookest down upon my sorrow and my sin, let me be sooner numbered with the dead than break the vows I truly made before thee. Let me die faithful to him I love.'

"'Impious girl,' cried Becket, starting to his feet and drawing his cloak closely round him, 'profane not the holy name of God by thus calling upon Him to sanction your crime.'

"'A crime!' answered Rosamond steadily, and turning her eyes slowly and even calmly upon the face of Becket, 'till now it was no crime. False priest, vile counsellor, I know you now! I scorn and hate you from my very soul.'

"If Rosamond was beautiful in her native tenderness, that beauty was increased ten-fold under the influence of the exciting passions of anger and contempt. Her eyes flashed, and her form actually seemed to dilate, as she stood erect with one hand pointed towards her hearer, as though passing sentence upon a culprit. The magnificence of her beauty had never before so struck upon the vibrating senses of the baffled and unmasked traitor before her; and in a voice where the passion of love strongly contended with that of rage, he exclaimed,—

"'Rash girl, if not on me, have pity on yourself. Listen to me, or dread my vengeance, and despair.'

"'Never! the one I loathe, the other I defy,' was her undaunted reply, with a look of aversion that cut Becket to the soul.

"'Once more,' he said in a deep and solemn voice, 'I bid you pause ere you decide.'

"'I have decided,' answered Rosamond firmly, and folding her arms upon her breast; 'vengeance is yours; you can but take my life.'

"'Ha! say you so?' he exclaimed, maddened to fury by the unutterable scorn with which, from the first, her every word had been spoken. 'Then is your doom decreed. Nor heaven nor hell shall turn me from my path. The world shall crumble into dust ere my avenging hand be stayed. Others shall feel its weight, but drop by drop your heart's blood shall be poured upon the wound you have made here.'

"He struck his breast violently as he spoke, and his face was livid with rage, as he added in a voice of thunder, 'Look to thyself, King Henry! Thy throne is tottering beneath thy weight! Queen Eleanor, I release thee from thy vow! And you, unhappy girl, author of all this woe, you have defied my power, scorned my love, and called down Heaven's vengeance on your head. May it light upon you, and there rest for ever. I bade you once 'beware,' and now I bid you 'tremble.'

"The tone in which he spoke these words fell upon the heart of Rosamond with a fearful chill; but she did not move or withdraw her calm and steadfast gaze from his face, which had assumed the most diabolical expression of rage and malice.

"In a moment after he had spoken, he folded his cloak around him, and disappeared in the forest."—vol. iii. pp. 55—62.

But the charge against this writer does not end here. Thus far, perhaps, it might be contended, that no one is bound to accept the Catholic view of the character of Thomas a Becket, and that to attribute to him motives such as those imputed by the passages which we have extracted, is but to exercise the privilege of free criticism to which every student of history is entitled. But what shall be said if it appear, that not only is the narrative such as it appears in her pages, not founded upon the real facts of the case, but on the contrary, is a gross and wilful misrepresentation of them in every important particular, especially in those which are most unfavourable to the memory of St. Thomas.

We shall not dwell upon the part of her statement which regards his personal character. Many other protestant writers before her have charged him with ambition, with spiritual pride, and with the design of elevating the Church above the State. But there is none whom she has not far outstripped in her imputation of the base personal motives, and of the sordid and grovelling hypocrisy to which she ascribes all his exercise of religion. Even Hume, the most unscrupulous of them all, confesses that "no man who enters into the genius of the age, can reasonably doubt this prelate's sincerity,"* and avows that even his most secret and confidential letters display, "in all his retainers, no less than in himself, the most entire and absolute conviction of the piety of their cause." This however, is but a minor injustice in comparison with the foul and hideous accusation which the above extracts disclose—the charge of having prostituted his sacred office for the purpose of pandering to the bad passions of the king; of having employed the influence of the confessional itself, in order to betray into the lustful hands of Henry, a young and confiding girl, his ward, and even his penitent; and in the end of having sought to seduce her, fallen as she was through his arts, to his own unhallowed love! Now will the reader believe that this entire story is not only utterly without the shadow of historical probability, but is clearly opposed

* i. 457.

in all its parts to the plainest facts of the history—facts which it is impossible to suppose unknown to the writer of these hideous calumnies.

I. There is not a shade of reason for connecting St. Thomas at all with the history of Rosamond, nor does any writer of the time, even those who were most opposed to his policy, even hint at the idea.

II. This connexion is not only unsupported by evidence, but is utterly at variance with the known and unquestioned facts of the case.

(1.) Thomas a Becket never was prior of Severnstoke; and what is far more important, he never, prior to his elevation to the see of Canterbury, could have acted as the director of a convent of nuns, or a confessor in any capacity whatsoever, for the simple reason that, until that time, *he was not a priest at all*. It is as notorious as any fact could possibly be, that during the time of his favour at court, he was simply a deacon, and there is the less excuse for ignorance of this prominent fact, inasmuch as it was made an objection to his elevation even by himself. The assertion, therefore, that he was the confessor of Rosamond Clifford, is a pure invention, which can have no object except to blacken his name and render it odious.

(2.) It is well known that Becket was not *named chancellor till the year 1157*; and it is during his occupancy of that office, that he is represented as having sought by this base compliance to secure himself in the king's good graces. Now Rosamond's connexion with the king was several years anterior to this date.

(3.) For Rosamond was the mistress of Henry, and the mother of his children, *years before Thomas a Becket appeared at the court at all, or even was known to the king*. Her eldest son, William, was born not only before Becket's introduction at Court, but even before Henry's accession itself, and while he was still Duke of Normandy. Even the youngest, Geoffrey, must have been born about the time of his father's accession, for he was older than Prince Henry, the son of Eleanor, who was born a few months after his father's coronation.*

(4.) The direct charge of immorality against Thomas a

* Lingard, ii. 304.

Becket himself, one, too, of so hateful a character, is equally opposed to all the evidence of history. Even the most inveterate of his enemies never ventured to cast the shadow of such an imputation upon him. And in this work it is the more unjustifiable, inasmuch as it is used for the purpose of palliating the crime of his murder, by representing it as an act of vengeance on the part of the lover of Rosamond, Randolph de Broc. The noble and generous character ascribed to this De Broc, by-the-bye, who is described by the contemporary historians, as *hominem scelestum totius malitiæ incentorem*, is another example of this writer's flagrant dishonesty. It is meant, of course, to heighten the infamy of the Archbishop by the contrast.

And this is given to the public as history, or, at least, founded upon history ! First, that Becket was the confessor of Rosamond Clifford ; secondly, that, as her confessor, he, for his own base ends, persuaded her to become the mistress of Henry ; thirdly, that at the price of the surrender of her estate, he absolved her, and permitted her to continue to live with the king ; fourthly, that he afterwards attempted to attach her to himself in unholy love ; and fifthly, that in revenge of her rejection of his suit, he sought and compassed her ruin by the basest and most sacrilegious measures, whereas not only is there no evidence, or seeming evidence, for any such assertions ; but on the contrary, it is perfectly certain that he never could have been her confessor at all ; that she was the mistress of Henry for many years before Becket was ever known to the king, and that the rest of the charge is confuted by the unanimous admission of even the deadliest enemies of the Archbishop's fame !

If such be this writer's arts for the purpose of blackening the character of St. Thomas, we may easily anticipate that equal pains are taken to exalt Henry in the contrast.

“ Well had that most sagacious prelate, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, decided, when he pointed to Becket as the man of the day, and gave him to Henry, in order that the King should no longer see with his own eyes ;—for, in his heart, Theobald dreaded both the talents and decision of Henry ; and to guide is sometimes surer than to subdue. The monarch, whose only weaknesses were those of the heart, fell at once into the snare. The peculiar nature

of Henry was chiefly the cause of this. Courteous, civilized, and refined, he stood as it were alone in advance not only of his followers, but of his nation, and of his age. Learned, accomplished, and clever, he shone as a star before the world at a time when brute force and personal bravery were the qualities on which alone the mass of society prided itself. Added to this, Henry had beauty, grace, and wit, and a softness of manner which endeared him to all who knew him ; and formed a striking contrast in a character possessing such undaunted courage and quick determination. The one weak point in his nature was his too great attachment to favourites,—a foible very natural to those whose rank isolates them, and, in a great measure, deprives them of the social ties that, to a loving heart, make up the sum of human happiness. To a great warmth of affection, Henry united a steadiness of friendship and tenderness, rarely to be found in impetuous natures. Passion influenced every feeling ; and in love, friendship, or hatred, he equally abandoned himself to the full force of the sentiment. There was, however, a generosity in his very faults, that endeared him to all ; a trustfulness that could not fail to raise the object of it in their own estimation, and which none but a vicious heart could accept and then betray.”—(vol. i. pp. 216, 217.)

Who will recognize from this charming portrait the man who is described by his contemporaries, and even by his friends, as *leo, aut leone truculentior* ; whose “equal in lying was never witnessed ;” who professed without disguise, that it was “better to be guilty of falsehood, than to fail in a favourite object ;” whose “eyes, in the paroxysms of his passion, became spotted with blood ; his countenance seemed as a flame ; his hands, in impotent fury, sought to destroy every object within his reach, and when he was not able to do more mischief, would sit down and gnaw the very straw upon the floor” ? To have thrown in these, or any similar shadows, would have been to deprive the hideous and revolting portrait of his antagonist of the advantage to be derived from the contrast ; and therefore Henry is represented all that is perfect, endued with every grace of person, and ennobled by every eminent and attractive quality of mind !

It will readily be believed, too, that the monks and the monastic institute are not allowed to escape without a lash. There is a coarse and disgusting copy of the well-known scene in *Ivanhoe*, between *Cœur de Lion* and the Clerk of Copmanhurst, so coarse, that we could hardly have believed it came from a female pen. But as it is

evidently a favourite with the author, it would not be justice to suppress it.

“Not one of them recognised the King, who, enjoying their surprise, and the stealthy looks they cast upon their half-finished feast, advanced quite close to him who seemed by his age and the golden cross he wore to be the chief amongst them, and said,—

“Holy brothers, if it be not too bold to intrude thus into your greenwood refectory, I would fain crave the courtesy of a cup of wine?”

“Wine!” echoed Brother Boniface,—who, although no less a person than the prior of the order, was by far the most inebriated,—“we have no wine! have we brother Anselm?”

“Wine!” glibly replied Anselm, “the saints forbid! Holy Mother of God, protect us from such a sin! We are poor monks of Saint Swithin, bound to fasting and to prayer. By the Holy Rood, we have no wine! A little water from the rock, and a crumb of bread, is all we have to offer, most worshipful knight.”

“The lying knaves!” exclaimed Henry, in a low voice to Leicester, as he fixed his keen glance upon the portly form of Anselm, whose small grey eyes were twinkling in the hope of having deceived his hearer. “If not wine then,” added the King, in a louder tone, “a cup of ale, or a little hippocras, or mead, holy brothers, if permitted by your laws?”

“Alas! alas! we have neither,” answered the unblushing Anselm. “Hippocras and mead are for the dwellings of the rich; we poor sinners must fast and pray. By the Holy Star of Bethlehem, what I tell you is the truth. We have no wine; unless, indeed,” he added, quickly, as he marked the movement of Gaultier de Saint Clair, who, with malice in every laughing feature, was stealing towards the only one of the leathern bottles that still remained upright, “unless there should remain some drops of the mulberry juice with which we sometimes temper the water for the good father Boniface, who is old and feeble.”

“Feeble, very feeble!” mumbled Boniface, catching his own name; and he rubbed his hands and folded them on his enormous stomach, and hung his head with a helpless expression of drunken stupidity.

“Noble knight,” said brother Basil, one of the younger of the friars, who now advanced close to the King, and looked intently upon the beautiful hawk that he carried, “if it be not too bold, might we crave your assistance, or that of some of your valiant followers, in a little matter that we have on hand?”

“Speak on, my brother,” replied the King, laughing, as he turned his eyes upon the well-fed, but somewhat more candid-looking countenance now upraised to his; “the mulberry-juice, I see, has done *you* no harm. We soldiers of the Cross are ever ready to help or comfort you holy men of God. Speak on, and say in what

we may serve you. But first tell me—what do you here in this lone angle of the forest ?’

“ ‘We are poor monks of St. Swithin,’ replied brother Basil, with the habitual whine ; ‘and we go to Woodstock to deliver a petition to the King. We did but tarry here for a few moments to eat a morsel of bread ; for the body needs strength to do the work of the soul. We would crave of you, noble knight, to tell us which way his grace may be most easily approached, for the ear of King Henry is never closed to the voice of his faithful subjects ; and we, the poor monks of St. Swithin, yield to none in reverence and devotion to our good King. May the holy Saints keep his soul in safety here and hereafter !’

“ ‘My good friend,’ said Henry, whose patience began to wax short ; ‘if this is all your care, we are well met—I am the King !’

“ At these words, the consternation of the friars became ludicrous. Those who were standing, attempted to kneel ; while such as were lying down, tried to get up ; but almost all failed in the endeavour, and the ground was immediately strewn with the ill-fated monks thus suddenly called upon to display their loyalty in the midst of their potations. They struggled and scrambled ; their bald heads knocking together as each endeavoured to support himself by his neighbour. Very few, however, succeeded in raising themselves to a becoming position ; and Henry, whose good-nature in such cases was equal to his severity in others, put himself in his usual attitude half on one side of his horse, and laughed till he made the woods echo to his voice.

“ At last, addressing brother Basil, who alone seemed to have retained his composure, he said,—

“ ‘It is well, my brother ; but since we already know some of each other’s secrets, tell me at once the prayer of your petition ? The merry greenwood may serve us this once for a council-chamber, as well as our castle walls.’

“ ‘Father Boniface hath the petition, so please you, my lord,’ observed Anselm, very uneasily,—at the same time seizing tight hold of the gown of the prior, in the vain hope of keeping him steady on his feet.

“ ‘Speak !—one, or all of you,’ vociferated Henry impatiently, and with a slight tone of contempt ;—then, turning to Basil, he added, ‘if you know for what you pray ; for I see good father Boniface could scarce read his lesson. The mulberry-juice this hot day was over sweet for the holy prior !’

“ ‘My lord,’ said brother Basil, without hesitation, ‘we, the poor monks of St. Swithin, are aggrieved and oppressed. Penitence and privation are our portion ; but we cannot exist upon air. Our daily food is withdrawn ; and cruelly we are left to starve. Henry, bishop of Winchester, is our oppressor ; he has taken from us three of our dishes. Gracious monarch, restore to us our dinner,—we ask no

more ; and the poor monks of St. Swithin will pray for your kingly soul !'

" 'And how many dishes has the bishop left you, good brother ?' asked the King, gravely.

" 'Twenty-seven, and no more,' replied brother Basil, in a tone so doleful and despairing, that Henry again laughed in his face."—vol. ii. pp. 198—205.

Caricatures such as these, however, coarse and offensive as they certainly are, may be treated with indifference. They bear with them their own antidote, and at the most they can affect but weak and prejudiced minds. But it is the artful and circumstantial slander, dressed out in elaborate detail, and presented with all the parade or pretence of history, this is it that excites our indignation. From this there is no escape, or, at least, escape is very difficult. It is by such slanders as these, put forward time after time in every variety of form, and with every variety of circumstance, in history, poetry, romance, and philosophy, that the mind of England is held closed against the admission, or even the very contemplation, of the truth.

And for a certain class of minds the plausible romance is perhaps the most dangerous weapon. The constant and unvaried repetition of the same statements of a serious character, a hundred times refuted, and repeated for the hundred-and-first time as confidently as though they had never been called into question, has a tendency, no doubt, to blunt and harden the power of perceiving the truth when presented ; but the effect of these hacknied calumnies is faint and inconsiderable in comparison with that of a sustained and elaborate lie, invested with all the attraction of romance, and carried out through all the details of an exciting story. Even the Catholic mind may hardly find itself proof against such an influence, and in the case of those whose knowledge of Catholic principles is derived entirely from without, it is impossible to estimate the strength and permanence of the false impressions which cannot fail to be produced. Nor, however lightly we may be disposed to think of the influence of such a book as "*The Lady and the Priest*" upon the educated and reflecting, is it without sincere and sorrowful anxiety we can contemplate the startling fact, that in a time of such excitement as that through which we have just been passing, this book has run, within the

course of a few months, through several successive editions. This fact alone will suffice to shew of what material the anti-papal agitation of 1851 was composed.

ART. VII.—*Essays Critical and Miscellaneous*, by an OCTOGENARIAN, 2 vols. Printed by G. Nash, Cork, 1851.

SOME of these Essays are old acquaintances, having already appeared in our pages. Others are contributions to several of our literary cotemporaries. Many of the pages consist of matter entirely new, but all are worthy of being read and read again, and we are rejoiced to see them collected and preserved in their present form, even though it be but for private circulation. The lot of those who contribute to our periodical literature, is one attended with numerous disadvantages, not to the public, but to themselves. The secrecy which shields an author's mediocrity or faults from censure, deprives genius and erudition of their merited applause. We know that to minds of a high order, and influenced by high motives, the applause of men is either unheeded or despised, as a motive of action, but as an indication that their labours have not been unattended with success, it must ever be an object of interest and anxiety. The great majority, however, of those who write for the instruction or entertainment of the public, expect the meed of its approbation, and are sustained under the pressure of their intellectual exertion, more by the cheering hope of fame, than of pecuniary reward. The public knows them and admires them, and to many an author's ears there is no music so sweet, no stimulant so exciting, as the expression of its praise. But except in a few rare instances, or in a very small circle, the anonymous contributor to the pages of our periodical literature will seldom receive the reward of fame. The public will seldom seek to raise the veil with which the writer conceals his person and character, from

all except the responsible editor of the journal; and the author of the brilliant article, or the crushing argument, or even the touching strain of poetry, must often remain unknown, unless the person most interested be himself a party to the discovery. We do not deny, indeed, that anonymous writing has not also its advantages. Into the general question it is by no means our intention to enter. The subject has been very ably discussed in France within this last twelvemonths, and a law passed by the National Assembly now obliges all authors to sign their names to such articles, at least of a political tendency, as they shall insert in the public journals. Whether the experiment shall attain its object, and curb in any degree the licentiousness of the Parisian press, remains yet to be discovered.

It is fortunate at least for the young aspirant of literary fame, that such a regulation does not exist among ourselves. It is a bold and hazardous attempt enough for the adventurous tyro, to present himself as a candidate for public acceptance, and enter the field where fame and perhaps fortune are to be won, even with his vizor closely drawn, and marshalled in the ranks with others like himself. If he had to march boldly and singly into the arena, with his name and armorial bearing openly engraved upon his scutcheon, it is more than probable, that gallant and gifted though he be, he would shrink back with terror from the very publicity of his first appearance. But when he has tried his maiden pen, when he has been accustomed to see himself in print, when he has heard the whispered compliment or the open eulogy, and been encouraged by those whose opinions he values and whose character he reveres, the attempt to claim a place in the literary ranks will be made with more confidence and energy, and therefore with a greater probability of success. It was thus that Brougham, and Jeffrey, and many others equally illustrious, whom we could name, began, and trained themselves for that high degree of eminence which they subsequently attained.

It is time that we come back to the author of the *Essays* before us. Whatever timidity may have attended his first efforts, and we take it for granted that he was not exempted from the common failing (if it be a failing) of humanity, has long since disappeared, the incognito which it suggested has been long more than half laid aside, A

real and distinct personage we get a glimpse of, though still in a kind of crepuscular obscurity, in the "J. R. of Cork," whose most interesting correspondence has often riveted attention in some half-dozen periodicals, and though in the literary world his name and real character have been no secret for many years, yet now that he has reached the period of life granted to so very few, full of years and labours, we see no reason why those who have been instructed and delighted by his writings, should still be ignorant that they are indebted for them to Mr. James Roche, of Cork, now, as the title of his book declares, a venerable octogenarian.

Mr. Roche was born in Limerick eighty years ago, and of a family that ranked high in wealth and worth amongst their fellow-citizens. Whether they were connected with, or descended from the Lords Roche of Fermoy is not clearly ascertained; it is certain that they are descended from the Hon. Mr. Roche, who was one of the assembled delegates at the confederation of Kilkenny. A good deal of his family history and connections is made known to us in his *Essays*, as, for instance, speaking of the family of Stackpole,

"The Stackpole family of Strongbonian origin, has long stood in the first line of respectability in the county of Clare. Indeed the Count was usually distinguished as Lord George, having some pretensions to the peerage of La Zouche. My father's maternal descent was from the same stock. The husband of his granddaughter, Mr. Cornelius O'Brien, was one of the members for the County: and its late High Sheriff, her son, my great nephew, Mr. John O'Brien, represents the city of Limerick, succeeding in that position my brother, Mr. William Roche."—Vol. ii. p. 227, note.

During the last century, and indeed from the period of the treaty of Limerick, all posts of trust and emolument were closed to Irish Catholics at home, and those who believed, or knew that they were fit for something else than hewing wood or drawing water, had to repair to other countries in search of honour and distinction. Several of Mr. Roche's family entered into the military service, and placed their swords at the disposal of the French and the Austrian governments. At the battle of Kunersdorff, the great Frederick had a narrow escape of being made prisoner by an uncle, Thady O'Brien, then an officer under the Austrian Commander, Landon. O'Brien seized

his majesty's horse, as he fled in terror from the field of battle, and held him firmly by the bridle, until his arm, disabled by a pistol shot, the ball of which was never after extracted, was forced to loose its hold, and with it the honour and emolument of bringing in the monarch captive.

It was not alone that places of trust and honour were withheld from Irish Catholics in those times, but it is quite unnecessary to say that the knowledge which would have fitted them for these places was withheld also. An eminent writer has observed "that in order that the Irish should be oppressed with impunity, it was necessary that they should be first degraded." Hence the schoolmaster was deemed the enemy of the State, legal enactments were made against him, and a price was set upon his head. He and the priest were both outlaws and criminals together. A respectable clergyman, vicar-general of the diocese in which the writer of this article resides, and who is not many years deceased, was wont to tell how, when he was at school, learning the classics and preparing himself for the priesthood, it was always the custom for one of the boys to stand sentry upon a neighbouring eminence, lest any of the agents of power in those days should come upon them unawares. Each boy in his turn stood watchman, while the other were employed in study. It is not wonderful that Providence should visit upon the English government and people the crimes of their forefathers, and that by a just retribution, the question of Education in Ireland should be one of its greatest difficulties, and one of the most difficult problems of its legislation.

At the period of which we now speak, there was no educational establishment in Ireland for respectable Roman Catholics. The guardians of Mr. Roche, therefore, determined to send him to France, as was then the custom, and where he had numerous acquaintances and fellow-countrymen. The college of Saintes was selected for the purpose. This town is charmingly situated on the banks of the Charente, about twenty-five leagues north-east from Bordeaux. Though it has been long neglected, and is verging slowly to decay, it was once the flourishing capital of the Santones, a warlike people of Aquitain, from whom it derives its name, and even to this day boasts of one of the choicest specimens of Roman antiquity in tolerably fair preservation. It is an arch, erected by the Santones, in memory of Germanicus, and as, from the change that time

has made in the river's bed, it now occupies the very middle of the bridge, though it formerly stood upon the bank, every traveller who enters the town is afforded an opportunity of seeing its fair proportions. The college of Saintes was conducted by the Jesuits, but on their suppression was transferred to other hands. It was still, however, efficiently conducted when Mr. Roche was sent there for instruction. He was also placed under the care and private tuition of the Abbé Casey, of Irish birth, as his name abundantly testifies, but long resident abroad. Here he remained about two years, and made great proficiency in the several branches of knowledge that were usually taught. If we may judge by the studies to which his attention was especially directed in after life, we may say that Classical literature, and the history and languages of modern Europe, were those most congenial to his taste. Of the very great proficiency which he attained in these, we have abundant evidence in the volumes before us. There is scarcely a classical or even a Latin author with whose works he does not seem familiar, and from whose pages he does not quote, with taste and judgment. Witness the following remarks suggested by the words of Father Paul Sarpi, "*Esto Perpetua*."

"Sarpi's dying ejaculation, in words since of such frequent use and various application, *Esto Perpetua*, allusive it is supposed to Venice, has not received the sanction of heaven, for

" 'The spouseless Adriatic mourns her Lord,' and

————— Venice lost, and won

Her thirteen hundred years of freedom done,
Sinks like a sea-weed into whence she rose.'

CHILDE HAROLD, iv. 11, 13.

"Or in the Classical strains of his countryman, Sannazaro (*Elegia in oper. Ald.*, 1535, 8vo.), so consonant in object and expression to the deeply affecting letter of consolation from Servius Sulpicius to Cicero, on his daughter's death. (*Epist. ad fam. Lib. iv. Epist. 5.*)

" 'Et querimur cito si nostræ data tempora vitæ

Diffugiunt! Urbes mors violenta rapit:

Fata trahunt homines; fatis urgentibus, urbes

Et quodcunque vides auferet ipsa dies.'

"What a contrast with the proud and palmy days of Venice, which her citizens vaunted as the special work of the Most High, 'Opus Excelsi,' and superior to Rome herself!

" 'Si Pelago Tybrim præfers, urbem aspice utramque;

Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos.'—Idem Sannaz."

ESSAYS, vol. i. p. 271.

And again, with reference to the well known line of Lucretius, "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

"To this often cited line, and the evils it refers to, Cardinal Polignac, in his *Anti Lucretius*, opposes the desolating effects of the Roman Poet's inculcated Atheism, and antithetically concludes the contrasted enumeration (lib. i. v. 839) thus :

"Efferatantum igitur potuit suadere malorum
Impietas non Religio quæ prava coercens
Corda metu, spe recta favet'

"The poet's philosophy was that of Des Cartes ; but he highly praises Newton's Optical discoveries, for which our illustrious countryman addressed him, 'plenam urbanitatis epistolam quâ se affirmabat maximo cum desiderio moriturum si Anti-Lucretium totius Europæ tantopere expetitur legere sibi non contigisset.' The gratification was not however reserved for Newton, whose death preceded the publication of the volume by about twenty years, nor did it appear till after the author's own decease ; though he had often recited many brilliant parts of it, which made it long celebrated over Europe. At his last moments, he repeated those affecting lines of the first book :

"Ceul lectum peragrat membris languentibus æger
In latus alternis lævum dextrumque recumbens
Nec juvat,' &c.

"It was similarly that Lucan 'profluente sanguine ubi frigesceore pedes manusque, et paullatim ab extremis cedere spiritum intelligit,' (says Tacitus, in relating the Poet's death inflicted by Nero, *Annal* xv.) 'recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo vulneratum militem per ejusmodi mortis imaginem obiisse tradiderat versus ipsos retulit, eaque illi vox suprema fuit.' The verses here adverted to by the great historian, are generally supposed to be those of book iii. of the *Pharsalia*.

"Scinditur avulsus ; nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emicuit lentus ; ruptis cadit undique venis,' &c.

"While other commentators consider the lines, 811, of Book ninth more apposite :

"Sanguis erant lachrymæ : quæcunque foramina novit
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor,' &c.

"Dante is likewise reported to have applied his own language to express his dying feelings :

"Vedrai te simigliante a quella' nferma
Che non puo trover posa in su le piume ;
Ma con dar volta su' dolore scherma,"

PURGATORIO, Canto vi. 149."—vol. i. p. 199.

But it is in the department of French History and literature that our author made most progress. This was to be expected from his early associations; and the

opportunities then afforded him have certainly been turned to good account. The most out-of-the-way authors he seems to have made acquaintance with, and is perfectly at home in all the literary gossip and anecdote of the Parisian world of the last and present century. For a thorough and intimate knowledge of the French tongue we may be prepared, but it must have required great reading and great powers of memory, to have got thus the mastery of all the minute details, and to have dates and texts almost at his fingers' ends. His faculty of accurately remembering these particulars is very remarkable, and is exemplified in a striking manner in the several essays of this publication. We shall take occasion to refer again to this branch of our subject. After completing his studies he returned to Ireland, and after a brief stay he went back again to France.

This occurred exactly at the period of the first, or as it is often called, the Great Revolution. France was in a perfect fever of excitement. The nation, big with the impending changes which were then beginning to make themselves felt, was troubled for the past, and still more troubled for the future, which was presenting itself amid the brightest hopes of some and the gloomiest anticipations of others. It was, as events proved, a most adverse time for the quiet and steady pursuits of industry. The part of the kingdom which Mr. Roche selected as his abode, was the birthplace of the once powerful political party of the Gironde, which promised in the beginning to guide the stormy and fitful gusts of the revolutionary spirit with a skilful and steady hand, but which, unfortunately for itself and the country that looked up to it with hope, proved unequal to the task, and was ultimately annihilated on the scaffold. It is not our business nor purpose here to pronounce an opinion on the Girondins, nor to discuss the principles of their policy, if such they had; but we must reluctantly avow, whatever our admiration of their abilities may be, which were of a very high order, that we look on their fall as a striking and terrible lesson for any political party at home or abroad, that may be at any time disposed to compromise the principles of honour and consistency, much less of truth and justice, at the suggestion of political expediency, or the dictate of popular fanaticism. Passing events in our country may give this lesson a more pointed significance, and prove, that in politics as in com-

mon life, the old adage holds good, that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

Mr. Roche became intimate during his residence at Bordeaux, with many of those who were subsequently the most distinguished leaders and members of this party; among others, with Vergniaud and Gensonné, with reference to whom the following recollections will prove interesting. The latter incident is a striking proof of the uncertainty of life in the Parisian world of the day.

“On the king’s trial, the Girondists, those I mean of the special department, ten in number, had nearly all declared their firm resolution to protect the royal life, while they sacrificed the regal dignity; but when brought to the test, in the hour of danger yielding to fear, that terrible demoralizer of the human spirit, they, with the single exception of Grangeneuve, who nobly defied the threatening glance of Robespierre, betrayed their internal conviction, and voted for their sovereign’s death. Vergniaud, too, by far the most eloquent of them, or of the Convention at large, and who had energetically opposed and denounced the atrocious commune on all occasions, pronounced, as president, the fatal sentence. Deeply did I, to whom in my early days he had shown uniform kindness, on my visits to him at his residence in the ‘Rue St. Catharine,’ at Bordeaux, regret this failure of heart on so critical an ordeal of his fortitude. His colleague, Gensonné, with whom I had also been on terms of acquaintance at his house in the ‘Rue de trois Conils,’ was equally pusillanimous, and followed Vergniaud’s example. The two youngest, Ducos and Fonfrède, had been mere fops. The former, I recollect, wore false calves, to make his legs correspond with the comparatively greater fulness of his body; but he was an excellent dancer, as was likewise his brother-in-law, Fonfrède, whose uncle of the same name, (Boyer Fonfrède,) stood pre-eminent in that accomplishment until surpassed by my friend Trénis, who knew no superior save the ‘Dieu de la danse,’ as he was distinguished, the younger Vestris. M. Trénis was a gentleman of fortune, destined for the bar, but the spoiled child of society, from his eminence as a dancer, which eventually turned his head, and made him an inmate of a lunatic asylum, where he died. To these few personal details I shall only add, that on the 28th of May, 1793, I dined at the house of M. Vandenyver, my family’s banker, in the Rue Vivienne, near the old Bourse, (or Exchange,) in company with twelve of the deputies known under the general designation of Girondins, and chiefs of the class, constituting all together, including the Vandenyvers, father and son, with myself, the number of fifteen, and before the year closed one of the Vandenyvers and I alone survived. Thirteen had fallen under the revolutionary axe! On the 31st of May and two succeeding days, Robespierre’s terrific

ascendency was established, though on the 28th, his adversaries the Girondins, exulted in the assured prospect of their approaching triumph, as I witnessed."—vol. ii., p. 193.

Our author was witness of some of the strange events, and often of the horrors, that disgraced the French capital during the reign of terror, as for instance :

"As *part* of a single day's ensanguined execution, we beheld the sacrifice of eleven nuns to the revolutionary Moloch. Martyrs to their faith, surely, for their alleged crime was hearing the Mass of a nonjuring priest. Mournful in the extreme and deeply affecting was the sight, yet sublime in the contemplation of its inspiring cause, which lent to humble beings, essentially weak in their nature, an elevation of spirit and fortitude, as we saw, of endurance unsurpassed, we may truly affirm, by what philosophy could effect or pride assume,

‘*Prodigæ vitæ, cruore
Purpuratæ martyres ;
Auspicatæ morte vitam
Pace guadent perpeti.*’

In 1793, Mr. Roche was arrested in Paris as a British subject. It was during the reign of terror, when scores of victims were each day led forth from the prison to the scaffold. It is well known that innocence under Robespierre and Fouquier Tinville gave no security to the accused, and that many a noble spirit and gallant lover of his country had to lay his head upon the guillotine through the fanatical hatred of England. Our author would never have attained his octogenarian honours, nor would his literary labours be the subject of our present notice, if the Parisian public had not been amazed one morning with the astonishing and unexpected intelligence that Robespierre was dead. The public, incredulous at first, when convinced of the truth became almost delirious with joy. Every one felt as if a great load that had been long pressing upon his heart was taken off, and that at last he was able to breathe freely, without the withering apprehension that that breath may be his last. And if the public at large felt thus delighted, how much more must those have done who for many a long hour, made yet longer by the constant apprehension of the impending judgment, for trial there was none, had been pining in the crowded dungeons of the capital. That was a glo-

rious morning, indeed, that brought them the cheering news that Robespierre was dead. Our author felt it, as did many besides, whom it restored to life and liberty again.

After his liberation, he remained for some time in Paris, and was a witness of several of the stirring scenes that each day brought with it. Among others Buonaparte's first appearance in public life,—the defeat of the Sections.

"Of his first public manifestation in that capital, in October, 1795, when he overthrew the Sections armed in opposition to the Convention, I was witness, and well remember the prognostics raised on the fearful energy of his conduct on that occasion, when I had the good fortune to secure a refuge to one of the discomfited generals and his aide-de-camp, who were concealed at my house in the south for some days. The general, a connexion of my family, did not long survive, but the aide-de-camp, since also deceased, had subsequently served with distinction under Napoleon, and commanded the third division of the invading army against Spain, in 1823, when he was created a peer of France. I mean the late General Count Bourke, the son of an officer of the Irish Brigade, who was made prisoner with his countryman, the unfortunate Lally, at Pondicherry, for the surrender of which Lally was executed, in 1766."—vol. ii., p. 187.

During the few years that followed his liberation from captivity, our author seems to have passed his time, probably in the pursuit of his mercantile profession, between Paris and Bordeaux. An anecdote of his personal history during his residence at the latter place, will give our readers a remarkable instance of the vicissitudes of popular favour, and show them how the hatred of one generation may become the hero of the next. The subject of the anecdote is no less a personage than General Washington.

"The citizens of the United States never fail, it is known, to celebrate the 4th of July, the anniversary of their declared independence of the British Crown. In 1796, we assisted by special invitation, at Bordeaux, to commemorate the day; when after a few early toasts a *round of rascals* was proposed, not then an unwonted practice, and at their head, with curses loud and deep, was pronounced the name of George Washington! A French general and ourselves were the only alien guests. He made some observation expressive of surprise, which was answered by the chairman in terms of insult; fortunately not sufficiently understood to cause the usual consequences, which we averted by a very soft-

ened interpretation of the words. We had ourselves declined the toast, but unnoticed. The chairmau, a Mr. Russell, was subsequently employed in various diplomatic missions."—vol. ii., p. 77.

About the close of the last century, Mr. Roche deemed it advisable to transfer his capital and business to Ireland; and after some time, spent probably in making the necessary preparations, he commenced business in Cork, as a banker, in partnership with his brother. When the Catholics, after the disappointment of the Union, and of the hopes of emancipation held out to them at that period, began to agitate the question, our author took a very prominent part in every effort for the purpose. His character, position in society, and mental acquirements, pointed him out as one who was fit to give efficient aid to his fellow-countrymen for this purpose. He was a frequent if not a constant chairman at all the public meetings held in his neighbourhood, to agitate and promote the measure of Catholic emancipation, and one of the oldest reminiscences of the writer of this notice, is to have seen him in this capacity at a Catholic meeting in the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, in the city of Cork.

It may be very well supposed, from what we have already said, that our author did not, during the whole of this period, neglect his literary pursuits. Neither the engrossing nature of his professional engagements, nor the exciting moments of political exertion, prevented him from those more agreeable enjoyments which he derived from his favourite authors. His residence in one of the most beautiful situations of the many that constitute the delightful scenery of the Cork river, was well stocked with the choicest treasures of literary genius. His selection of books was made with great taste and judgment, and there were few sales of literary works of excellence at which he was not a frequent and often a successful bidder; and it was not by the mere rarity of the volume which has so often led the buyer to extravagance, that his choice was determined, but by the intrinsic value of the article. An anecdote is related by himself of an incident that occurred at an auction of books in Dublin, which, as we are treating on this matter, is worth mentioning:

"In the year 1800, immediately after the sale of Mr. Stevens's library, where were first exhibited, I believe, those emulative contests for the early 4to. editions of Shakspeare, which succeeding years

have rather inflamed than moderated, I met Mr. John Kemble in Dublin, at the auction of Provost Murray's books, by Mr. Mercier, in Anglesea Street. While waiting for Mr. Mercier's arrival, the *Gentleman's Magazine for May*, just then received, was looked into by a person present, who astonished at the prices therein stated to have been given for six detached plays of Shakspeare, (£158. 4s.) exclaimed, 'Who were the madmen guilty of such extravagance?' 'I, Sir,' said Kemble, rising from his seat 'toro sic orsus ab alto,' with the solemn dignity of mien and lofty assumption of manner that characterized him: 'I, Sir, am one of those unhappy wights who appear so insantly indifferent to the value of money.' And resuming his seat, he scarcely noticed the anxious apologies of the unwitting and abashed offender."—vol. i., p. 286.

We should have stated, that Mr. Roche married, in 1793, a daughter of Mr. John Moytan, of Cork, and a relation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork of that name, by whom he had two children; and amid the enjoyments of home, devoted to his amiable and interesting family, and dividing his time between his professional engagements and his literary pursuits, our author would have been content to spend the remainder of his life. Though not an old man, he yet had seen and suffered too much of the world not to value the priceless blessings of happiness and repose. And yet, though he had suffered much already, he was still doomed to suffer more, and a dark cloud, big with misfortune, was already breaking over his hopes and home. The year 1819 was one of much mercantile embarrassment. It is not for us to enter into the detail of the various causes, financial and social, which produced or accelerated the crisis. It was most calamitous for Mr. Roche and for his brother; and through their failure it was calamitous for thousands. To satisfy the necessities and legal claims of his creditors, his personal and other property was sold. His books, that formed the solace of many a tedious hour, were all brought to the hammer. We know not but a small portion was preserved by the kind care and solicitude of his friends, but with this exception all was disposed of, and the owner, who a few days before was in the enjoyment of every worldly happiness, was left penniless, and comparatively a pauper. It was well that he had read the philosophers of Athens and Rome to some purpose; and better still that he accustomed himself during life to the hopes and consolations of that gospel

without which the philosophy of Athens and of Rome would be of very little service.

For some time after this occurrence, Mr. Roche had to bear up with all the difficulties usually consequent on reverses of fortune. But time, that great healer of human maladies, mental and bodily, the aid of kind friends, and his own energies, gradually removed the pressure of affliction, and though not in affluence, he is at present, we believe, in a position of comfortable independence, and able to devote himself, without impediment, to those intellectual pursuits which have been the great solace and enjoyment of his leisure hours. It is since then, also, we believe, that he has written nearly all the essays contained in the two volumes before us. Some of these have already appeared in our own pages, and the remainder have been addressed to other periodicals; among the rest, that most venerable of them all, "*The Gentleman's Magazine*." They are principally devoted to subjects of literary and historical criticism, and in their present form we are glad to find that several points have been re-considered, some remarks suppressed, and much new and valuable matter added, where necessary, in explanation or in proof. We have, on the whole, rarely seen so much of valuable criticism and of interesting historical matter contained within the same compass. It is our intention to leave such of our readers as are not familiar with our author's style and writings, to judge for themselves, but where or what to choose, or where to begin, we know not. The variety of topics is so great, and the choice is so embarrassing, that we begin almost at random with the following particulars of the French philosopher, J. J. Rousseau.

"To the unerring proofs of a diseased intellect, his admiring friend adds several more, affirmative of the melancholy fact. Thus, told that his opera, '*Le devin du village*,' had been applauded, he imagined that it was the more firmly to fix on him the impeachment of some ideal plagiarism, and to aggravate the imputation the value of the theft is exaggerated, he said. When about to leave England, the wind happening to be adverse, he thought it a mere device for detaining him there, at the request of the French minister, Choiseul. '*Les soupçons*,' says his friend, '*se multipliaient, et prenaient un caractère, de véritable folie*.' He even suspected his wife: '*D'être du complot et de s'entendre avec ses ennemis*.' Indeed, he was conscious afterwards that his reason had then fled; but that the latter years of his life were clouded more or less by recurring insa-

nity is beyond contradiction. Just before embarking, on his departure from England, he harangued the assembled populace in French, of which they were as ignorant as he was of English.

“*Viola la Science*

Immense

D'un Savant de France

Qui rêve en plein midi !

“In fact, at an earlier date, Madame D'Epinay in her ‘Memoires’ tells us, that observing him seemingly absorbed in some remorseful retrospect, she attempted to console him by the assurance that his errors were not those of the heart. ‘Where, good Madame, have you discovered that?’ bluntly replied Rousseau. ‘Know then once for all, that I was born, and am of a perverse nature (*vicieux*). You can hardly conceive the pain it costs me to do good, and how little to act wrongly; and to prove that I speak the truth, learn that I cannot help hating my benefactors.’ And yet, as already seen, this unhappy being challenges mankind to produce at the last great day his superior in virtue! But his mental and bodily infirmities concurrently affecting his frame, the growing debility attracted general notice, and excited deep commiseration for the obvious decline of so gifted a person. Invitations would have flowed in on him, if it were expected that he would accept them, but his medical friend, Doctor de Presle, induced him to embrace that of M. de Girardin, whose son, the General of that name, was the father, but not by marriage, of Emile de Girardin, the well known proprietor of the Newspaper, ‘*La Presse*.’ This gentleman possessed a charming residence at Ermenonville, within a dozen miles to the north of Paris, where Rousseau, accompanied by his wife Therése, arrived the 20th of May, 1778, and for a short interval antecedent to his decease, appeared delighted with the place, as well as with his host, to whose son he gave some few lessons in Botany, suited to a boy of ten. In after years, this son fondly boasted of having been Jean Jacques's pupil, which however could not have extended much beyond a month, for on the 3rd of the ensuing month Rousseau died. At first it was rumoured by suicide, but the medical report pronounced and apparently proved, the death a natural one. The body was, by his own desire, interred in a romantic spot of the domain called *L'île des peupliers*, where M. de Girardin raised a mausoleum to his memory; but on the 11th of October, 1794, the remains, in despite of M. de Girardin's remonstrances, were transferred to the Pantheon by a decree of the National Convention, and still repose there, together with those of Voltaire and other ‘great men to whom their grateful country,’ as the inscription on the pediment expresses it, has devoted the beautiful edifice, originally a Church dedicated to the patroness of Paris, St. Genevieve. The inscription just mentioned was suggested by M. Pastoret. A statue has also been erected to Rousseau at Geneva, in expiation, we may

presume, of the persecution he had to endure from its governors, during life.”—Vol. i. p. 155.

Bonaparte seems not to have had any exalted opinion of Rousseau, nor of his fellow-labourer in the same cause, Voltaire, as we find from the following remarks.

“‘Vous aimez Voltaire,’ said the Emperor to my accomplished friend, the grand Master of the University, Fontanes,—‘vous avez tort; C’est un brouillon un boutefeu, un esprit moqueur et faux: il a sapé par le ridicule les fondemens de toute autorité divine et humaine, il a perverti le siècle.’ And of Rousseau we are told by M. de Girardin, who, when a boy, as previously stated, had received a few lessons in botany from him at Ermenonville, in June, 1778, that on visiting this final retreat of Jean Jacques with Bonaparte, whilst First Consul, the latter said, ‘il aurait mieux valu pour le repos de la France que cet homme (Rousseau) n’eût jamais existé. Et pourquoi Citoyen Consul?’ asked Girardin, ‘C’est qu’il a préparé la révolution Française.’ ‘Je croyais Citoyen Consul,’ replied Girardin, ‘que ce n’était pas à vous à vous plaindre de la révolution.’ ‘Eh bien,’ rejoined Bonaparte, ‘l’avenir apprendra s’il n’eût pas mieux valu pour le repos de la terre que ni Rousseau ni moi n’eussions jamais existé.’ He had, when this singular conversation occurred, just returned from Egypt and become the Ruler of France. Girardin was a man of veracity, otherwise his recital would hardly be credited. On their return to Malmaison, then Bonaparte’s domestic residence, they found his wife seated at the dinner table waiting for their arrival, when the great warrior’s countenance at once displayed the highest dissatisfaction at Josephine’s presuming to take her seat before himself. Yet he was a fond and indulgent husband, though perfectly cognizant of her ante-nuptial irregularities; but like a sovereign, he would not permit any one to precede him, not even a lady—as kings do not permit their queens to take precedence of them.”—Vol. i. p. 158.

The following remarks, taken from our author’s notice of Mr. Hallam’s *Literary History of the 16th century*, and addressed to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, contains matter of some national interest.

“At page 63, of the second volume, Mr. Hallam observes, that it is questionable whether any printing press existed in Ireland before 1600, but we have the distinct assertion of Sir James Ware, (*Annals*, p. 124, ed., 1705, repeated in 1746,) that the English Liturgy was printed in Dublin, by Humphry Powell, in 1551, at the command of the Lord Lieutenant Sentleger (sic), and the Council. Powell, as may be seen in Dr. Dibdin’s *Typographical Antiquities*, (vol. iv

311,) had exercised his profession in 1548 and 1549, at Holborn-Conduit, in London, whence he removed to Dublin; and, in the history of this latter capital by Whitelaw and Walsh, (vol. i. p. 195,) it is stated more particularly, 'that on Easter Sunday of the year 1550, the Liturgy in the English tongue was first read in Christ Church, in pursuance of an order from the king (Edward VI.) for that purpose; and the following year was printed by Humphry Powell, who had a license for so doing, to the exclusion of all others.' 'It is probable,' those compilers add, that 'this is the first book printed in Ireland.' In a subjoined note, it is moreover affirmed, that the Bible had also appeared the same year; for which, reference is pointed to Ware's Annals; but that antiquary is silent as to the Bible, though positive in regard to the liturgy; and the Dublin annalists have, therefore, transgressed their quoted authority. Indeed, it is perfectly certain, that no Bible of so early a date issued from the Irish press; for I do not recollect any trace of it in our bibliographical records. It exists not, as I have ascertained by enquiry, in the royal collection of Wirtenburg, nor the library of the Duke of Sussex; and the former, it is well known, is the largest repository of the sacred code ever formed. See Bibliotheca, Wurtenburgensium Ducis (Grandfather of the reigning monarch) Olim Lorkiana, auctore F. G. Aldero, Hamb. 1787, 4to, and Allgemeine's Bibliographisches Lexicon, Leipsic, 1821-1830; as also Dr. Diblin's Tour, iii. 21. Were it to exist, a copy would doubtless be in the Dublin University Library, as that of the liturgy is, but it does not contain such a volume, though Mr. Robert Shaw, representative of the University, has asserted that it did, but he, like others, mistook the liturgy, which of course he could not have seen, and only accepted the fact on report for it. This occurred in parliament, where there was no one competent to prove his error. In 1566, the London printer, John Day, sold in Dublin, according to his statement, seven thousand copies of his *octavo* edition of the English Bible, which he was the first to publish in that minor form, in 1549; and these, we may presume, were the earliest copies that circulated in Ireland. Dr. Heale, Archbishop of York, had presented to the two Deans and Chapters of Christ Church, a large folio Bible each, in 1559. (Ware's Antiquities, *ibid.*)

"But as for the alleged Bible in 1551, if we could discover any vestige of it to support the statement of the Dublin annalists, its extinction might naturally enough be imputed to the intolerant spirit of the succeeding reign; for similarly, scarce does a complete copy appear to survive of the first English Bible printed, it is supposed, at Zurich, in 1535, so successful had been Henry VIII. in suppressing it; and Mary, on the death of Edward, may be presumed not more indulgent in regard of the first Irish edition. Copies, however, of other editions, printed in London previous to her reign, are not so rare as to indicate any strenuous efforts on her part for their destruction; and, however sanguinary her rule was

in England, it is an incontestable fact, that the persecution in blood did not extend to Ireland. On the contrary, Sir James Ware, whose assertion is unquestioned, states, anno 1554, page 135, 'that several of the protestants of England fled over to Ireland, by reason of Queen Mary having begun to prosecute (sic.) them for their religion, viz. John Hervey, Abel Ellis, John Edmonds, and Henry Hugh, who bringing over their goods and chattels, lived in Dublin, and became citizens of this city.' Vol. i. p. 171.

In noticing, however, the general, and indeed the often surprising accuracy of our author, we must take the liberty of drawing attention to some of the errors into which he has been drawn, by too implicit a reliance on what he deemed most trustworthy authorities. Of this kind is the following account of the divorce of Napoleon and Josephine. The narrative of the facts is substantially correct; but the supposition that the renewal of the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine by Cardinal Fesch, *under the authority of Pius VII.*, could have been invalidated by the absence of their parish priest, is entirely without foundation.

"Of Napoleon's separation (for the Roman Church acknowledges no divorce) from Josephine, there are some circumstances connected with the subject not familiar, I believe, to the general reader. The civil marriage took place on the 9th of March, 1796, a few days before he entered on the first field of his glory, the campaign of that year in Italy. That ceremony of course could not operate as a religious bar to the subsequent and more sacred union with Marie Louise. It however has transpired that though primarily neglected, the religious solemnity had at a later period been performed. In fact, it has been ascertained, though long kept in mysterious secrecy, that on the eve of the day appointed for the coronation, that is, on the first of December, 1804, Josephine, urged by some residuous scruple, having communicated to the Pope that the religious rites, or nuptial benediction, had not consecrated her union with Bonaparte, the Pontiff at once intimated to the emperor his fixed determination not to sanction, by the part he had been called upon to act in the contemplated ceremony of the following day, what he now learned was an unhallowed cohabitation. Napoleon, greatly irritated at Josephine's disclosure, yet well aware of the Pope's invincible adherence to a conscientious principle, yielded to the requirement, rather than forego what he had been at such pains to obtain, 'his coronation by the sovereign Pontiff.' The marriage was then accordingly solemnized by Cardinal Fesch, in the presence of Talleyrand and Berthier, the sole assistants, who were bound to the strictest secrecy. It became however necessary to

satisfy the conscience of the emperor Francis on this point, before he could, in accordance with his creed, consent to the proposed marriage of Napoleon, with 'la fille des Césars.' But the difficulty was of prompt adjustment, on discovering that the Cardinal who had officiated, had omitted to obtain the presence or sanction of the special parish priest, as indispensably enjoined by the Council of Trent, and all ecclesiastical hindrance to Napoleon's legitimate union with his second Empress removed. On this ground, the officiating or ecclesiastical authority of Paris, to whose jurisdiction the case was submitted, pronounced the marriage null."—Vol. ii. p. 174.

In the first place, we must observe, with respect to the foregoing account, that when his Holiness, being made aware of the previous neglect, gave directions to have the defect supplied, his authority as supreme pastor was quite enough to legitimate the union, without any recourse to the pastor of the immediate locality in which the parties lived, or the ceremony was performed: and we may rest assured, that when, as is mentioned here, he was made aware that no marriage was previously performed, he took every step necessary for its being done in a proper manner. When the marriage with Maria Louisa was contemplated, a formal petition was presented to the ecclesiastical tribunal of the diocese of Paris, to have the marriage with Josephine declared null and void. The petition alleged two reasons, one that it was clandestine, and the other that Napoleon only pretended to give his consent to the union. Either of these would, if existing at the time of marriage, be an impediment to its validity. The diocesan court pronounced sentence on the 9th of January, 1810, and this sentence was confirmed by the metropolitan tribunal shortly after. Now in this decision the subject of clandestinity is altogether passed over. Not a word is said about it, which shews that there was no ground for the allegation; and the sentence of separation, and the declaration of the invalidity of the marriage, are grounded entirely on the want of the necessary consent in one of the contracting parties.

It is unnecessary for us to remark on the improbability of this impediment, particularly when alleged after so long a lapse of time, and for the attainment of such an object. The competency or the propriety of such a tribunal to decide on the question at issue is yet more questionable. The universal practice of the Christian world has consti-

tuted the supreme Pontiff the sole judge of such questions, where the honour of crowned heads and the interest of nations are at issue. The united weight of these several reasons for questioning the decision, led thirteen cardinals to refuse to sanction the second marriage, or even to be present at the ceremony. The account of the protest may be seen in Cardinal Pacca's memoirs, and the particulars of the proceedings in the marriage process, in the 81st volume of the "*Ami de la Religion*," from the pen of Rudemare, who was the promotor of the diocesan Court of Paris at the time the circumstances occurred.

The following quotations which we shall give, must prove interesting from the nature of the subject.

"At page, 116, O'Connell states that he was the only boy not beaten at Harrington's School. 'I owed this,' he adds, 'to my attention.' The fact admits of no contradiction; but I have been assured that, if not beaten by the master, he was by the scholars, for his unsociability, apparent shyness, and preference of study, or secluded reflection, to play. Nor yet was he, I have been equally assured by his schoolfellows, particularly distinguished amongst them for superior capacity, at that early period, though shortly after, during his foreign tuition, he gave unerring promise of future eminence; as he also became one of the most joyous, pleasant companions in social intercourse, when at the bar, mess, or in Society."—Vol. ii. page 99.

"With the Duke of Wellington, O'Connell (p. 196) found two faults.—'One,' he says, 'is that I never yet heard of his promoting any person in the army from mere merit, unless backed by some interest;—the second fault is, that the Duke has declared that the only misfortune of his life is his being an Irishman.' And merited, indeed, would be the reproach, were this statement strictly true; but in refutation of the first, I could adduce more than one contradictory proof, were the circumstances susceptible of easy abridgment; while in reply to the second, I can affirm, that at a St. Patrick's charity dinner in London, where he presided, I heard the Duke most distinctly express the pride he felt in being an Irishman, and glory in the achievements of his countrymen under his command. It is very possible that his declared sentiments were not of uniform tenor, or controlled in utterance on all occasions, no more than O'Connell's, when he sunk the great warrior into a 'stunted sergeant,' or reviled the Saxons in language which reflection could surely not sanction. Fault, indeed, may be found, and no excuse can be pleaded for the absence of Wellington's name from the list of subscriptions for his starving countrymen, during the fearful visitation of the past years. It is a stain, and a deep one, on his

memory, otherwise destined to shine so resplendently in the annals of the empire.'

"O'Connell told me, in confirmation of what is reported in page 204, that when he first addressed a public meeting, he scarcely knew what he said, so timid was he then. His earliest exhibition as an orator at Cork, was on the 2nd of September, 1811, at the first great Catholic meeting held there, and of which I was Chairman. He made a splendid speech of two hours' duration, which he passed the night in preparing for the press, and which I saw the next morning, fairly written in his bold flowing hand, exactly as he had pronounced it, though he certainly could not have gotten it *entirely* by heart, for he adverted in his course to various incidental matters of the discussion. On reminding him in later years of the circumstance, he observed that he had long been saved the trouble of transcribing his own speeches.'

"Many years since, O'Connell related to me his meeting with the two brothers, Sheares, on his return home from St. Omar, and Douai, in January, 1793, and his horror at the language of these unhappy men, in reference to the execution which they had exultingly witnessed of the ill-fated Louis XVI. Just then emerged from the doctrine and discipline of a college deeply abhorrent of the proceedings of the period, of which the establishments were the victims, he participated in the impression and sentiments, and indeed ever continued unaltered in these early views, and cordial preference of Constitutional monarchy to any other form of government. Mr. John O'Connell, in the biography of his illustrious father, by some oversight, or lapse of the pen or memory, post-dates the royal execution by eleven months, placing it in December, instead of January (the 21st), 1793. The day will ever be present to my deeply impressed recollection.

"Before the outbreak of the insurrection in 1798, during the assizes of Limerick, Lord Clare desired to have an interview with the two Sheares, to which my father, in the hope of a pacific result, invited them at his house; but it ended, unfortunately, in more intense and exasperated irritation, as was discernible in the young men's flushed features and defiant bearing, as they parted. Yet the Chancellor's object was certainly benevolent and conciliatory: but they were intractable. The interview was close and private; still I marked their aspect on leaving the house, inflamed and indignant in every lineament. Possibly overtures repulsive to their feelings may have thus excited them. Happening the following year to occupy, in Dublin, apartments where the younger Sheares, John, had resided, I discovered in a recess, a parcel of his correspondence, which, on finding it to be from a female, I instantly burned."

"Often and complacently has O'Connell repeated, that the in-born ambition, the first conscious aspiration of his soul, which his memory could retrace, was, 'that his name should be written upon the pages of Irish History.' And most fully, we may say, without

any presumptuous claim of prescience, is that desire destined to be accomplished ; for to none of her generation will the annals of his country owe, or more justly devote, a large, a grateful, and brilliant page. His mortal career is now closed, inauspiciously, indeed, and unseasonably, as succeeding events have shown, whilst, in whatever light his political course, which alone can be open to controversy, may be viewed, there can exist no variance of opinion, as to the surpassing energies of his mind, which, in their direction, if not the approval, must command the admiration of all.

"As hostilities amidst scenes of national discord can, we know, be as fiercely pursued, and often with no less personal risk, as at the point of the sword, surely those who at home, in defiance of all danger, have perseveringly and intrepidly combated the enemies of Ireland, are entitled to similar commemoration. And if so, what name can supersede, in due expression of his country's obligations, that of O'Connell, who devoted his long and glorious life to that sacred cause? For although the struggle, which, during an uninterrupted series of forty years, he maintained against the combined selfishness, deep-rooted prejudices, and fanatic intolerance of the English people, aggravated in its rancour by the still more embittered Orange faction at home, had for its object, in the assertion of justice, to prevent, not to excite the effusion of blood, yet the contest of adverse interests and passions which he had to encounter, placed him quite in as hostile a position, and demanded equal boldness of spirit, and capacity of mind, as if engaged in mortal strife at the cannon's mouth. His final triumph, accordingly, over the multiplied obstacles he had to surmount, revealed in him, with unerring demonstration, all the faculties of a great commander. To have held in control a well-trained army, is far easier, and calls into exertion less energies of our being, than to maintain, as he did, submissive to his every behest, a nation of warm temperament, or at least, several millions of an uneducated, undisciplined population, to whose gratitude for their religious enfranchisement, and confidence in his uprightness of purpose, he owed this boundless sway, and endured possession, beyond all example, of the popular favour—that delusive phantom, which, while sunk in seeming subjection, can abruptly seize and fearfully wield the tyrant's sceptre, suddenly burst what appeared indissoluble in adamantine hold, and capriciously crush or enchain the idol of its own creation. History, I repeat, discloses not to our view a tenure comparable, in duration or intensity, of that proverbial symbol of inconstancy, which far exceeded what we read of Pericles, of Chatham, or any other competitor for fame in the power of 'ruling the fierce democracy.' In a word, O'Connell's command of the human will, 'that spell upon the mind of man,' as characterized by Byron, in application to Napoleon, sufficiently proves his genius, evinces the master-spirit, and proclaims the extraordinary man. Even the unmeasured abuse which, in the

opposition of political feeling assailed him, it belonged not to characters of common mould to excite, but which, in its source and consequences, will reflect to the future historian, the most vivid image of the age, and ensure to its object the commensurate but more dispassionate notice of posterity.'

"The portrait of the elder Cato, as we find it in Livy (lib. xxxix., Cap. 40), appears so apposite in many features to O'Connell, that, though referred to by me elsewhere, I am induced here to reproduce it. 'Si jus consuleres, peritissimus; si causa oranda esset eloquentissimus. Orationes et pro se multæ, et pro aliis, et in alios; nam non solum accusando, sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimis plures et exercuerunt eum, et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Linguae proculdubio acerbæ, et immodice liberæ fuit.'—Vol. ii. p. 120.

We shall give no more extracts. Those we have already given afford a fair specimen of our author's style and turn of thought, and also of his habits of study. In our opinion, the papers that have been contributed to our own pages are by far the most studied, the most regular, and the most finished productions of his pen. We would instance particularly those on Voltaire, in reply to Lord Brougham's work on that subject, on D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, and on the Bible and the Reformation. All of which are works of great ability and research, and evince a complete mastery of the several subjects. From the quotations we have already given, the reader will perceive that the author's habits of reading are rather of a discursive than of a profound character, and that he has earned the reputation rather of knowing a great deal more than ordinary persons on a vast variety of subjects, than of a deep and thorough knowledge of any particular department; and, also, that without any pretensions to beauty or superior excellence, his style of writing is always clear, methodical, correct, and strikingly expressive. The language is indeed occasionally quaint and old-fashioned. We encounter now and then a long word, or a latinized form of sentence, that we will in vain seek to find in the recent editions of Blair's Lectures, or Murray's Grammar, or Walker's Dictionary, but which is eminently suggestive of ponderous folios, and vellum quartos, and rare works of the mediæval times, extended in long rows, in close proximity to the writer's elbow. It needs no great effort of

intellectual sagacity to discover that the author is an old man, so full and flowing is the stream of his literary gossip, and so charming is the garrulity with which he discourses, apparently without effort, and certainly without fatigue, of times long since past by, and of men who have been famous in story, and of books which have been written on curious themes, or published with strange titles; or when he tells how a clever *bon mot*, that has got one man a name, belonged in reality to another, or a book that has all the charm of novelty, is in truth but an old work, published many a long year ago, and with which he was familiar in his youth, or shows how a volume ascribed to such a date, and said to have been printed in such a city, was indeed long antecedent, and first saw the light in a place five hundred miles away. We get so much and such instructive information, and it is imparted in a manner so engaging and so interesting, that we would be content to sit from morning dawn till night, silent and attentive listeners. From what we have now said of the nature of his style and the discursiveness of his matter, it may be easily inferred that many of the productions in the volume before us are of an epistolary character. In our opinion that style is best suited to his peculiar talents, though it is one in which excellence has been rarely attained amongst us. Hence we find in these pages a great number of letters to several periodicals. Though intended for publication, they have all the charm and freedom of a private correspondence. It would be difficult to find a correspondence more instructive and interesting, and on more out-of-the-way matter, than in the letters addressed by him to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. We may instance particularly the letters on the French Ambassadors at the court of England. In the matter of dates, and quotations from the classic authors, and the value of the several editions of the more celebrated authors, and almost in every particular regarding the literature of France during the last century, we know no one on whose authority we should with more confidence rely, than on our venerable and respected octogenarian.

Of the literary merit of these volumes we shall say no more; but of the author a few words remain to be said before we conclude this notice. For some years past Mr. Roche has occupied a most distinguished position among his fellow citizens. Independently of his age and experience, the devotion which he has always manifested to the

cause of literature, and the zeal he has shown in every well-directed effort to promote the education of his country, has secured for him the respect and esteem of all to whom the intellectual state of the people is an object of solicitude. He has taken a leading part in every educational movement in the south of Ireland for some years past. When the British Association held its meeting in Cork, he was unanimously appointed president of the local committee, to make the necessary preparations for the reception of that body. He has been for many years president of the Royal Cork Institution for the promotion of science, and also of the committee for the management of the public library; and only those who are in the habit of taking part in the proceedings of those bodies, can possibly know or appreciate the regularity, the diligence, the efficiency of his valuable co-operation. We may judge the estimate in which his long and eminent services are held from the fact, that this very year a public subscription has been entered into, to have his portrait taken, by an artist of high repute, for preservation in one of the public institutions.

Even at his advanced period of life, Mr. Roche still continues to devote himself, with the most unremitting assiduity, to his favourite pursuits. There is scarcely a new publication that appears that is not perused by him. With every one of the literary periodicals he is familiar, and there is not an historical book of any consequence that is not made the subject of his criticism. After the professional labours of the day, he regularly makes the round of the public libraries of the city, and may be seen wending his way homeward, like the bee returning to the hive, well laden with literary treasures. Nor is the volume he peruses the worse for having passed through his hands, for on the margin will be often found the result of his labours, in some valuable correction of the text, or, perhaps, in some more valuable suggestion.

We have but little more to add, and that little is in praise of the very excellent style in which those volumes have been printed. They are not inferior to the very best specimens of typography that have issued from the presses of the metropolis, and reflect great credit on all the parties that have been engaged in their production. We rejoice that it has been so; for we rejoice that the literary labours of an old friend should be worthily and creditably preserved; we are glad that the intellect of one that has

grown old in the service of literature should be fitly honoured; that the mind so stored and gifted should be reflected back upon us as it deserves to be, long after the bodily frame in which it dwelt shall have passed away. It is thus it ought to be; yet we trust that the labours are not yet over, and, though the hope may seem presumptuous, that the series will not be finally concluded until another volume, for which we know there is abundant matter, be added, and thus complete the *Essays* of an Octogenarian.

ART. VIII.—*The Catholic Florist. A Guide to the Cultivation of Flowers for the Altar: with a list of such as are appropriate to the several Holy Days and Seasons of the Ecclesiastical Year; the whole illustrated by Historical Notices and Fragments of Ecclesiastical Poetry. With a Preface by the Rev. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A., Oxon. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.*

THE title page of this beautiful book sufficiently explains its end and object. It offers itself to Catholics as “a guide to the cultivation of Flowers for the Altar;” and it is enriched with historical notices, often of no common interest, as well as with fragments of ecclesiastical poetry, illustrative of the several days and seasons of the Christian year, and of the peculiar flowers appropriate to each. Altogether, it furnishes a calendar for the year, enumerating the saints to whom every day is specially consecrated, and adding also in brackets the names of other saints appointed to be remembered on that particular day. But this is not all; it is really and practically a manual for the gardener who chooses to give a religious and Catholic direction to his favourite pursuit. It tells him what flowers are in bloom during each month, and gives him directions for the purpose of ensuring their blossoming, as nearly as possible, at the exact time when they are required for the Altar. It also adds a vast amount of useful and interesting information, as to the ideas which

are popularly and traditionally connected in England with many of our flowers; and it opens a wide field for further enquiry to such as are fond of antiquarian lore. Interspersed with these observations, is a judicious selection of ecclesiastical poetry, culled from a wide range of writers, which our readers will find suggestive of many practical and devotional reflections.

After all, however, we feel that we have by no means done justice to the book itself, until we have drawn out, to some extent at least, the real *devotional character* which it is intended to wear. As to those who unhappily are reared external to the one true fold, and are consequently brought up in a cold and imperfect faith, we cannot expect to find in them any power or faculty capable of appreciating the idea which, if we may so speak, underlies the entire work. They cannot comprehend how matters so simple and so trivial as the flowers of the field or of the garden, can be turned to a devotional use, and made to minister to the honour and glory of Almighty God. But it is otherwise with the Catholic. He has been taught from his earliest infancy to believe that nothing is small or trivial which can be made to bear upon redeemed souls, or brought in any way into connection with the service of God. Accordingly, what seems so strange in the eyes of others, appears to him in the light of something natural and obvious: and so he loves to indulge the spontaneous feelings of his soul within, and as he has been ever wont to associate the ideas of joy and gladness with the flowers of the field or of the bright parterre, he naturally offers them as presents upon the sacred Altar, where He, whom he adores, really and truly dwells. Just as the untaught heathen, led by the voice of nature, rejoiced to crown with flowers the Altar which he reared to his false deities; so with an equally natural impulse the Catholic Christian hastens to deck the Altar of his true God and Saviour with the fairest flowers which the field or the garden can produce. And what fairer present can he bring? Is there one thing to be found that bears less witness than all others to the baneful effects of the fall of our first parent? it is the flower-garden. Does any one thing tend more than every other to carry back our minds to the joys of Eden? Our answer is the same. Is there one thing with which the universal consent of mankind has more intimately woven the feelings

of joy and gladness? Again, it is the flower-garden. Beautiful then, and innocent, and joyous, we deem them, humble as they are, fit offerings for the Altar of Him who made them first, and gave to them their beauty of form and colour.

With these few introductory remarks, we go on to state the principle on which Mr. Oakeley has proceeded in his book. It is this, to use his own words :

“That in the words of Inspiration, (1 Tim. iv. 4.) ‘every creature of God is good,’ capable of ministering to the glory of the Giver, and of assisting in the accomplishment of His work in the soul of man.....Acting on this great truth,” continues Mr. Oakeley, “the Holy Church has provided in the august ritual of religion, for the consecration to God of whatever is most beautiful and most highly prized among the works of His hands, or the productions of the genius and skill which are the fruits of His power. The precious metals which lie buried in earth are wrought into the vessels which enshrine or sustain the Adorable Presence on the Altar; the labours of the delicate hand, or the products of ingenious machinery, are turned to the account of religion in the draperies of the sanctuary, or the vestments of the Priest: the busy bee and the languid silk-worm are ministers in the same holy cause; for the one yields the materials for the loom, and the other has its praise in the very offices of Holy Church, as the unconscious contributor of the substance of Her Paschal Light. And shall it be thought,” he asks, “that flowers, the fairest and most unblemished among the remnants of Paradise, are to have no place in this catalogue of tributary offerings? Rather we place them on the Altar of our Lord, or weave them into chaplets for His dear Mother, without reserve or misgiving, as feeling that of all the productions of nature *they* have been the least diverted by man from their original and proper destination. They seem to carry their consecration in themselves; instinct with no mischief, and needing no exorcism.” (Preface, pp. ii—iv.)

Now, we feel that these words of the Editor may be left to speak for themselves: they are so very plain and simple that they need no comment: the very position they assert, is a sort of axiomatic truth. The natural instinct which leads a little child to cull some choice flower as the best present it can lay upon a mother’s lap, which teaches the bride to adorn herself with flowers in token of her joy, and the wealthy host to decorate his courtly saloon with no choicer ornaments, is confirmed by the practice of every age and country, and needs not to be defended. And if

we really have a heartfelt sense of our blessed Saviour's presence upon the Altars of His Church, how can we fail to show it forth in the same simple and natural manner? especially when we remember, as Mr. Oakeley reminds us, that these are gifts which are alike available to rich and poor, and so form a ground, as it were, "on which rich and poor may meet together in the service of the Church, the mother of both alike."

Mr. Oakeley next quotes largely from the Cantic to show how ancient and how scriptural is the religious "language of flowers." He then passes on to the practice of the early Christians, and adduces the fresco paintings in the catacombs of Rome, in testimony of the practice of connecting the garden and the field with lessons of religion. This, perhaps, is not new to most of our readers; but much that follows will be found novel, as well as interesting, to a devout mind. In the earlier and middle ages of the Church, a close connection was felt to subsist between religion and horticulture. "What marvel, if..... these holy saints and servants of God found links with Heaven in the herbs of the field, or the flowers of the garden, and delighted to give them names significant of Jesus' love and Mary's graces?" Hence it was, that "at a time when everything wore a devotional aspect, and suggested an unearthly idea," each flower was coupled with the name of some saint, or made to refer to some part of the life of our blessed Lord, and of His holy Mother. Thus the "snowdrop" of our own day, in the better "ages of faith" was known as "the Fair Maid of February," in honour of the Immaculate. Thus, too, the modern "holyhock" was once "the Holy Oak;" the "iris," once the "Fleur de S. Louis;" "hypericum" was known as "S. John's wort;" the "Viola Tricolor" as the "Herb Trinity;" the "Sweet William" as the "Herb S. William." And to show how the Catholic mind loved to associate the flowers of its garden with its love of Her who is "the lily of Eden," we need only mention the names of "our Ladye's Seal," "our Ladye's Laces," "our Ladye's Mantle," "our Ladye's Slipper," and that flower which almost alone in this cold and unbelieving age retains its ancient name, the "Marygold." Surely the very fact that such names once existed and were common "in ore omnium," coupled with the fact that most of them are now, alas! forgotten, or have been exchanged for some unmean-

ing heathen term, fully warrants Mr. Oakeley in the following assertion. "In every instance the name has been changed with a sacrifice of the religious meaning: and whether this has arisen in the progress of science, as in some cases, or, as in others, through a verbal corruption, the decay of Christian principle is alike apparent. *Where Catholicism prevails, men instinctively turn to God and the blessed saints for the invention of names for the things of Creation: under Protestant influences they as naturally take up with heathen traditions, or the notions of those around them.*" We may add our own belief, that although the "Passion" flower still retains its ancient Catholic name, there is scarcely a Protestant to be found through the length and breadth of England, who ever thinks of associating it in his mind with the Passion of our blessed Redeemer, though its symbolical features are so very obvious.

We feel bound to add our firm conviction, that the hopes which the Editor expresses as to the usefulness of his little book will not be disappointed. We heartily agree too with him when he says, that "it will enable the Florist, whether in higher or in humbler life, to cultivate the garden with a Catholic object, as well as to view its productions with a Catholic eye." And we prophecy that wherever our Catholic friends will be at the pains to mark out the directions which are here put into their hands, they will find the Altar of their Church or Chapel distinguished by a far greater *appropriateness* of ornament than they could secure by any amount of labour undertaken without such a guide. We believe that even this little book will be found to have an effect on the taste of devout Catholics, who love to minister in these lesser things upon their Lord, and who therefore spend their time and labour in adorning His Altars. Many of our fair sisters especially, whether living in the world, or in religion, find a refined and holy pleasure in this task of love: and they will be ready to welcome the friendly guidance of a book like that with which Mr. Oakeley has supplied them.

The book itself is, altogether, got up in a style well suited to the subject of which it treats. It is tastily set off by its elegant blue binding: of the frontispiece and vignette upon the title page, it is enough to say that they are the design of Mr. Henry Doyle, in order to recommend them to the Catholic reader.

The book, however, we must repeat, is, after all, of a *practical character*, and really enters into the subject of practical horticulture, giving rules and observations based on experience, as to the best method of rearing the several flowers which it mentions. Throughout the calendar of months and days, our readers will find interspersed, (as we said above,) a very choice collection of ecclesiastical poetry; many of them consisting of hymns taken from the Breviary, and all, in some way or other, closely connected with the saint of the day, or with his appropriate flower. Among the authors quoted, we find, with a host of others, the names of Wordsworth, Cowper, Milton and Dante, Shakspeare, Chaucer, and Tasso; and among living poets, Keble and Williams, Faber, Longfellow, Wackerbarth, and Aubrey de Vere, besides a large number of translations from the "*Lyra Catholica*" of Mr. Caswall, and several original pieces of great beauty which originally appeared in "*the Catholic Instructor*." Several of the extracts from quaint old prose writers, with their homely and proverbial style, strike us as exceedingly happy in their ideas. The note on Holy Cross day, bearing upon the ancient rood-screens of our parish Churches, is very well suited to its place. Sixty pages of practical observations on the cultivation of particular flowers, together with a useful and carefully compiled Index, bring the volume to a close.

ART. IX.—"*The Guardian*," for August 20, and September 3, 1851.

THOSE of our readers who are in the habit of seeing the "*Guardian*" newspaper, must have been struck by the great increase of bitterness in its later tone against us Catholics. Whether the recent conversions have in various ways been the cause of this, (as for example, by removing the influence of those who were charitably disposed towards us, and again from the very circumstance

of their conversion exasperating those who were unprepared to follow,) it is of no great moment to enquire; more important it is to note, that this increased hatred of the Catholic Church has been contemporaneous with an increased indifference to matters of doctrine. We cannot indeed imagine, from the general tone of writing in the "Guardian" from the first, that its principal contributors have ever had any firm or intelligent hold of doctrinal principle. Still only two years ago, for instance when the Gorham controversy first broke out, we think it would have been difficult for any one to fancy the "Guardian" gravely maintaining, that the indiscriminate admission within a Church's pale of omnigenous heresy, is a course no whit more vitally inconsistent with its duties and privileges, than is the suspension of ecclesiastical censure against immoral Christians; and yet this has been the thesis for a long series of articles, during the end of the last and the beginning of the present year. Still more amusing (if that be not too light a word,) is the impassiveness and sang froid with which (in its number for September 10,) it throws overboard all idea of the indispensable obligation of Episcopal Ordination, and remarks "that the Episcopal organization of the Church is not so essential, but that there may be, though not so completely, real Christian means of grace and ministries without it." More observable even than this, is the doctrinal sympathy with Luther and Calvin evinced in the same article; where the writer observes with inimitable simplicity: "The times of the Reformation were difficult. The faith of the people in the doctrines of Rome was suddenly overthrown; then *what were they to do?* They left the Roman system, and the Bishops *stayed behind.*" In other words, it is for the people, not the Bishops, to judge of dogma; and the Bishops refusing to admit the truths brought to light by Luther and Calvin, the people were even *bound* to leave their communion. Just so Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and the rest in long succession, have, at their various periods, felt themselves absolutely *bound in conscience* to break communion with the Popes of their day. As the "Guardian" observes, "*What were they to do?*" The Popes remained blind to these new truths, and refused to hold communion with those who professed them.

All these positions of the "Guardian," we say, are very observable signs of the times; but most observable of all is

the provision so ingeniously made, for any single doctrinal laxity which, at any future time, the necessities of their party may require. For it is held as a fully sufficient and unanswerable excuse for their anti-episcopal decision, that "the most able of our (Anglican) divines" support it. We should like to know what heresy in the whole world can be discovered, which some great name among these "old divines" will not be found to sanction. Father Newman, in his lectures of last year, drew attention to Mr. Palmer's admission, that Bramhall, Usher, Laud, and Field, simply the greatest names in the whole Anglican Caroline Theology, express full doctrinal tolerance of the *Nestorians and Eutychians* by name. And in another place he points out, that Jeremy Taylor, whose heresy on the subject of Original Sin is also well known, calls the question at issue between *Arians* and Catholics, "the product of idle brains," and "a dispute of words which concerned not the worship of God, nor any chief commandment in Scripture;" while Falkland, who was the admired friend of Hammond, thinks that "before the Nicene Council the generality of Christians *had not been always taught the contrary of Arius's doctrine, but some one way, others the other, most neither.*" (p. 317, 8.) To these observations, now more than a year old, no answer up to this moment has been so much as attempted by any Anglican writer; so that really those who are still inclined to put faith in the "Guardian," must be puzzled to know what article of all which they now profess as most sacred, they may not, in due time, be called on to give up. The necessity of Episcopal Ordination is expressly surrendered in the article above referred to; and the essential importance of the doctrine, that all baptized infants are regenerated in that Sacrament, is by implication given up in the same article; viz., in the sympathy expressed with Calvin's Theology, who denied that doctrine. But this is only an instalment of what they may have hereafter to expect, judging from what has been above said; nor do we see how there is any one dogma, from that of the Trinity and Incarnation downwards, on which there is the slightest ground for confidence, that the "Guardian" may not be prepared, on occasion, to deny its essential importance. For it must be remembered, that this appeal to the Anglican divines, as to a decisive authority, has not been made in *ignorance* of their real sentiments; but after the above facts have been pointed out. There does not

seem indeed so much as a possibility of doubting that the said charges are true, when we consider that they have been made by one so intimately acquainted with these writers' works as Father Newman, and that not one syllable has been said on the other side to invalidate his testimony; and we cannot but think it unspeakably discreditable to the High Church party, that it can retain a scintilla of reverence for these so-called theologians, after their total want of theological principles has been so abundantly demonstrated.

What we have hitherto said, however, has been but indirectly connected with our main object; as shewing, namely, that the "*Guardian's*" increased hostility to the Catholic Church has synchronised with its increased indifference to dogmatic truth and principle. It is this hostility to the Church, or rather one particular manifestation of it, on which we intend addressing a few remarks to our readers; and this, because (as the "*Guardian*" well knows,) a charge of systematic unverity is that which, of all others, tends most to prejudice the minds of Englishmen against our doctrines and ourselves. The "*Guardian*," has, during the last few weeks, stereotyped, as one may say, one particular phrase: "*Rome has a theory on the subject of lying, and this is the result.*" It is our intention to examine the two main instances, which it has adduced in explanation and defence of this phrase.

It first occurs in an article (Aug. 20th) on "*the Philosophical Catechism*" taught in the Neapolitan schools; and we have no hesitation in saying, that, for the broad, and even ridiculous contrast this article presents, between the tenuity of its premisses, and the unmeasured violence of its conclusions, it exceeds any essay whatever on a moral subject, which we can call to mind. Let the reader judge.

We will begin by stating the conclusion which is, in truth, fairly indicated by the fact, that Rome tacitly permits this "*Philosophical Catechism*" to be taught in the Neapolitan schools. It is this, that what is commonly in England called the High-Tory principle, is a principle fully tolerated by the Church. Catholics are in no way bound to uphold this principle; we who write extremely dislike it; but Catholics *are* undoubtedly bound to maintain, and we for our parts are fully prepared to maintain, that there is nothing in this principle, (in any shape which it has assumed publicly and for any length of time within the

Church, and in its Neapolitan shape therefore inclusively,) at all inconsistent with the essential truths of morality, whether natural or revealed. Let the "Guardian" maintain the contrary proposition; and if Mr. Keble or some other champion of his own communion do not anticipate us in taking up the gauntlet, we shall be quite ready to undertake the combat.

By the High-Tory principle is meant, as every one knows, the principle that kings (and that, as is more commonly added, by hereditary right,) are entrusted immediately by God, and so as to be irresponsible to any human authority, with the charge of governing the people; that the relation of king and subject is a relation in every way analogous with that of parent and child. Let us take the latter analogy with us, and our argument will be made quite clear and convincing. For let us suppose that a father had made the most solemn promise conceivable to his children, that he would govern them upon some specified method and rule; and let us suppose that afterwards he discovers, to his great surprise, that this method and rule are most injurious to their real welfare. To say that he is not bound to *observe* his promise, is greatly to understate the matter; he is bound absolutely, and by the most solemn sanctions, to *break* it. This is so very obvious, that there is no one so stupid, or so prejudiced, as that he will hesitate to admit the conclusion. The parent may, or may not, have been hasty and indiscreet in originally making the promise, the result of which he so little suspected; but he is most certainly and most peremptorily bound, without scruple or hesitation, to break it, so soon as he shall discover that its observance is very seriously injurious to those whom God has immediately committed to his care. There is not a Priest in the Catholic Church, we fully confess or rather boast, who would give him any other response; nor, we suppose, would even the "Guardian" dare to maintain that such response savours of mendacious propensities, and "results from a theory on lying." And yet such conduct is absolutely identical, neither more nor less, with that defended in "The Philosophical Catechism."

Of our two premisses, then, one is now proved; viz., that in the case of parent and child, such a proceeding as that adopted by the King of Naples, would be absolutely imperative; the other premiss, (viz., that on the High-Tory principle the relation between king and subject is exactly

analagous with that of parent and child,) being admitted (we suppose) on all hands. We may here also add, that this High-Tory principle has had undisturbed and traditional possession in the kingdom of Naples, far more (we believe) than in any other European country; and to an extent which will be best appreciated by those who are conversant with St. Alphonsus's *Life*, and who have observed again the doctrine in his "*Moral Theology*," certainly divergent from the more common one,* on the general question of political obedience. It remains, therefore, only to quote the passages cited in the "*Guardian*," and beg our readers (who are probably *not* High-Tories,) to imagine the relation of parent and child, where mention is *here* made of king and subject. We keep the "*Guardian's*" italics and capitals, that we may give our opponent every advantage.

"S. If the people, in the very act of electing a sovereign, shall impose upon him certain conditions and certain reservations, will not these reservations, and these conditions, form the constitution and the fundamental law of the state?

"M. They will, provided the sovereign shall have granted and ratified them freely. Otherwise they will not; because the people, which is made for submission, and not for command, cannot impose a law upon the Sovereignty, which derives its power, not from them, but from God.

"S. Suppose that a prince, in assuming the sovereignty of a state, has accepted and ratified the constitution, or fundamental law of that state, and that he has promised, or sworn to observe it, is he bound to keep that promise, and to maintain that constitution, and that law?

"M. He is bound to keep it, provided it does not overthrow the foundations of sovereignty; and provided it is not opposed to the general interests of the state.

"S. Whose business is it to decide when the constitution imposes the rights of sovereignty, and is adverse to the welfare of the people?

"M. It is the business of the sovereign; because in him resides the paramount power, established by God in the state, with a view to its just order and felicity."

This is literally the *whole* quotation, as we find it in the

* See for St. Thomas's and Suarez's doctrine on this head, Balmez's work on Protestantism and Catholicity, Eng. Transl., pp. 416—424.

"Guardian": and it contains no other principles, as we have pointed out, than those which every one would unhesitatingly adopt in the instance of parent and child; or in any other instance where absolute and irresponsible authority is given by God to one person over another: which, on the High Tory theory, is precisely the case of a king. And yet this "Guardian" has the astonishing boldness to assert, that in the above passages the Catechism "philosophizes away the duty of veracity," and "gives a theory about *lying*, viz., that it is righteous." Why all this talk, in a merely intellectual point of view, is too shallow and silly to deceive even a well-instructed and acute school-boy. The whole conclusions contained in the Catechism, follow of necessity, according to the *moral* principles advocated by the "Guardian" itself, from the fundamental *political* dictum, that subjects are placed by God directly and irresponsibly under their king's governance. What then can be more transparently clear, than that any fault which the "Guardian" has to find with these conclusions, must be referable, not to the *moral* principles upheld on the subject of *veracity*, (because these, as we have seen, are identical with the "Guardian's" own,) but to this fundamental *political* dictum; which (true or false) at least belongs to a subject absolutely and *toto cœlo distinct* from that of veracity?

If any thing could make the whole thing more extravagant, it would be that these announcements are found in the organ of a party which makes Charles the First its hero, and a reverent observance of the 30th of January a principal badge. For not only did Charles the First hold this High Tory principle, (and through his *ecclesiastical* pretensions indeed, in a way which no Catholic can defend,) but pursued it into rather extreme consequences, in the way of faithlessness to his promises. At least there are various passages in his life, which it is difficult to know how any one can even *profess* to defend on any other principle than that above laid down; far as we are from admitting that they are *justly* defensible even upon that. Was Charles the First brought into contact with "a theory on the subject of lying," and were "these its results?"

Another example from an opposite quarter of the horizon at once presents itself. The oath of allegiance to King James the Second, was worded as absolutely and unconditionally as King Ferdinand's oath to his subjects.

How large was the proportion of Englishmen who felt the slightest scruple at unceremoniously breaking it, when his government was not to their taste? Bull was among the number of those who broke it, the only Anglican writer, we suppose, from the Reformation downwards, who has any pretence to be called a theologian; the majority of the "bishops" broke it; and the great body of clergy and gentry: and broke it too as a simple matter of course, without a particle of scruple or misgiving. Was this because "effrontery and self-righteousness was infused into false moral teaching," through "the system of deciding moral questions by precise rules and subtle argumentation?" If not, how is it that we are to account for the phenomenon? Is it not as plain as day, that the very same *moral* principles with those implied in "the Philosophical Catechism," commended themselves to the common sense and conscience of Englishmen; and that these, taken in connection with the opposite *political* principle, led to an opposite practical conclusion? Let the "Guardian" explain itself in this matter, or else let it frankly withdraw its imputation.

We have defended the king of Naples from the High Tory point of view, because such (as we pointed out) *is* the traditional Neapolitan principle, and his own; and because it is the basis on which this "Philosophical Catechism" proceeds. For ourselves who write, as we have already said, we do *not* hold this principle; and yet let it not be supposed that we regard the King's conduct as *on other grounds* indefensible: far from it. Only let it be conceded that there exists throughout the "orbis terrarum," (at least the European "orbis") an organised political party, unspeakably formidable from its numbers, its union, its determination and energy; and the object of whose whole endeavours is the destruction of the entire social fabric, and the construction of Society on principles directly at variance with Christian morality. And let it further be conceded (as indeed is evidently probable) that in order to resist these men successfully, a strict union and concentration of the opposite force is indispensable, insomuch that in a kingdom like Naples, a Constitutional Government cannot keep its ground against them. We are neither professing to prove that such is really the state of things, nor even expressing our own conviction that it is so; but it is quite certain that numbers of able and good men, with great means of judg-

ing, *think* such to be the true account, and that the king of Naples coincides with the opinion.

We confess then that it appears to us the very pedantry and fanaticism of morality, which, under such circumstances, would impose on King Ferdinand the obligation of maintaining the Constitution. He never dreamed, when he took the oath, of binding himself under such a contingency, nor can any sound morality hold him bound. We maintain indeed, in the very teeth of the "*Guardian*," that it is precisely those "instinctive and *primâ facie* sentiments" of morality, justly eulogised by our opponent, which would cry aloud with an unmistakeable voice against so preposterous a notion. It is the dictate of common sense to say, that a Constitution like the English, which has been the growth of ages, and has come down to us with every prescriptive sanction, claims an allegiance at the hands of our Queen, altogether different from that which we can reasonably demand from King Ferdinand, towards a dry body of rules, the mere creation of his own will, which has never for a moment been in peaceful and harmonious operation, and which enjoys no prescription whatever.

We now come to the "*Guardian's*" second instance of Catholic "*lying*:" and in doing so, we have greatly to change our sphere of observation; to descend from one of the highest in station to one of the obscurest among living Catholics; from the King of Naples to Mr. Gawthorn.

It appears, then, that this gentleman, wishing to elicit from the "*Archbishop of Canterbury*" an explanation of his real sentiments on Presbyterian Ordination, and fearing that if known to be a Catholic he might fail in so doing, wrote a mendacious letter, feigning to be a convert from dissent to the Establishment, and inserting his Christian name as his surname. We beg to express, once for all, our unhesitating judgment, that such conduct is not merely mean, dishonourable, and ungentlemanly, but utterly indefensible on the principles of morality; and a course of conduct, for which the hope of saving thereby a million of souls would have been no justification. However, let us compare it with the line of action displayed on the other side.

The Morning Chronicle, having characterized Mr. Gaw-

thorn's conduct as detestable beyond the wildest imaginations of fiction, proceeds to interpret a passage in one of Mr. Gawthorn's letters, as implying that such conduct had received the sanction of his "spiritual directors." On September 6th, Mr. Gawthorn writes a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* (to be seen in the "*Tablet*" of September 13th), in which he expressly mentions that he did *not* "allude to those who have the direction of his conscience." The "*Morning Chronicle*" of that date (alluding therefore, we suppose, to some earlier letter of Mr. Gawthorn's) says, "once for all we inform Mr. Gawthorn that we decline publishing any letters he may write to us:" and has since kept so strictly to its resolution, that it has never so much as given a hint, that its charge against Mr. Gawthorn's spiritual director was erroneous. Now compare this conduct with Mr. Gawthorn's own, which the "*Chronicle*" so severely reprobates. Mr. Gawthorn never intended any *permanent* deception of any kind whatever. That which he desired to elicit, was not a falsehood but a truth; viz., Dr. J. B. Sumner's real opinions on the matter in hand. The means by which he elicited this, was the assertion of a falsehood, which from the first he had resolved to retract so soon as it had served his purpose; nor even for that purpose did he deceive more than one single individual. The *permanent* impression which he aimed at producing, was in no respect a false one, but simply true. But the "*Chronicle*," having given its readers to understand on Mr. Gawthorn's alleged authority, that Catholic directors had sanctioned a course of conduct, which it designated as unimaginably detestable,—and having learned that this is a *simple falsehood*,—use their utmost endeavours, that the whole body of their readers shall remain all their life under the impression that this unmitigated falsehood, a falsehood tending grossly to calumniate the whole priesthood of a rival religion, is a *truth*. We do not see how, on the most unfavourable interpretation, Mr. Gawthorn's deception can bear a moment's comparison with this base fraud, this deliberate and foul slander.

We much fear that the "*Guardian*" may be comprehended under the same indictment. For in the "*Notices to Correspondents*" of *September 10th*, we have these simple words, "W. R. Gawthorn declined." Unless otherwise informed, we can hardly doubt that the letter, so declined, was a copy of this very letter, *dated September*

6th, which we have already mentioned. At all events the number for September 17th, gives its readers no kind of hint as to Mr. Gawthorn's disclaimer, published in the "Tablet" of September 13th, though it had previously endorsed the "Chronicle's" imputation. So that the "Guardian," in its self-deceiving zeal against the vice of lying, has exhibited that vice in its foulest and most odious shape; the deliberate calumny of an innocent and virtuous body of men, a body of men acknowledged by itself to be the priests of a Christian Church.

But this letter of Mr. Gawthorn's is really, on the whole, of a nature so creditable to him, and tends so much to replace him in the position from which he had fallen, that it is only fair to him to record it. It is as follows:

"To the Editor of the 'Morning Chronicle.'"

"Sir,—I hope your sense of justice will allow you to publish a few words in vindication of the Catholic Church, which some words of mine appear to have involved in a responsibility for my late act.

"Let me say, then, distinctly, that when I spoke of friends who took a favourable view of that act, I did *not* allude to those who have the direction of my conscience, or who are in any way responsible for what I say or do. My act was purely my own—the mere impulse of zeal and love for the Catholic Religion; although as I now view it, and as it has been brought before me by those to whom I owe respect and obedience, utterly unjustifiable. All of us are liable to error; of mine I can only say, that it was a very wrong act, prompted by a very right motive, but not therefore excused in the sight of the Catholic Church, which does not allow her children to commit a breach of truth, even though they could thereby save a world of souls.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. R. GAWTHORN.

47, Holywell Street, Westminster,
6th Sept., 1851."

It will still further illustrate the deep unfairness of the Protestant press and the very different measure meted forth to Protestant and Catholic delinquencies respectively, if we turn our attention to one or two proceedings, like those of Mr. Gawthorn, in which Protestant writers have indulged. In this connection, Mr. Hobart Seymour deserves prominent mention. This gentleman has published a work entitled, "Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome;" the nature of which is sufficiently

explained by the title. Now, what was the impression in regard to his real opinions, which he conveyed to the Jesuit Fathers as the preliminary of these interviews? Let us hear his own words:

"They imagined that I was unacquainted with the controversy between the Churches: that *I was disposed in my principles and views to join the Church of Rome: that I was already convinced that I ought to join her communion, and that my objections were only a sort of makebelieve.....* They, therefore, were induced to express themselves more freely and openly, less guardedly, than perhaps they would otherwise have done..... I dared not distinctly to assume the position of Protestant controversialist, as it would have led to their immediate withdrawal of all communication with me..... This necessitated me to great caution on my part, and obliged me to hold back many things that I might otherwise have urged, and in all faithfulness should have urged."—(pp. 5, 6.)

Now where is the difference in principle between this proceeding and Mr. Gawthorn's? Will you say that Mr. Seymour's object was only to elicit from his opponents their *real* opinions, which otherwise they might have been disinclined to give? This is precisely Mr. Gawthorn's case also. It is true that Mr. Seymour does not expressly enunciate a falsehood; but then even Mr. Gawthorn, in some inexplicable way, persuaded himself that he wrote no express and direct lie: though we are far from denying that, in actual expressions, he was much the more mendacious of the two. But let it be observed that Mr. Seymour, throughout the whole series of these conversations, at every turn of the argument, for the express purpose of confirming his friends in that utterly false impression of his character which he was anxious to convey, systematically and habitually "held back many things" which, on his principles, he "*in all faithfulness should have urged:*" a system of deceit far more elaborate, and long continued, and perpetually recurring, than Mr. Gawthorn's. Mr. Gawthorn, moreover, wrote only one letter, and that in the character of a stranger; whereas the parties on whom Mr. Seymour practised his deception, were men with whom he professed to be on the most friendly terms, and from whom he was receiving kindness and hospitality. Another comparison admits of being made. The "*Morning Chronicle*," on first publishing the Gawthorn correspondence, was clamorous for some

public disavowal on the part of Catholic authorities. As the "Tablet" observed, it was no very modest expectation: but on the whole, there was far more disposition on the part of Catholics to admit its reasonableness, than could have been expected with any show of reason. That the "Tablet," indeed, should disavow it, was fair and natural: but the Bishop of Birmingham, at a public meeting, took the pains to mention the matter, in order to express his disapprobation; nay, and Mr. Gawthorn himself, as we have seen, takes an early opportunity to express his regret and retractation. But as to Mr. Seymour, not one word do we find of regret or disavowal from any portion of his party, much less from any "Bishop," and much less still from himself. The whole thing stands unblushingly recorded.

Now we were curious enough to look back at "the Guardian's" criticism on Mr. Seymour's book, in order to see how great sensitiveness there would be to the evil of "lying," where the offender was not a Catholic but an "Evangelical." Wonderful to relate, (see "Guardian" of June 10th, 1849,) the Reviewer will not take on himself so much as to declare positively that the act of deception was wrong. "*Without entering on the question,*" quoth he, "*of the propriety* of allowing the priests to converse under this mistake, we may allow that their error does not at all invalidate the worth of Mr. Seymour's report." So wide is the difference of "the Guardian's" judgment on the same offence, according as a Protestant or Catholic is guilty of it.

As we are on the subject of Mr. Seymour's book, it may not be amiss to remind our readers, that the "Rambler," on the authority of those Jesuits who were mixed up in the conversations, brought against Mr. Seymour charges of misrepresentation, in comparison with which Mr. Gawthorn's awkward imposture is as a molehill to a mountain; and which, if discovered in a Catholic, would have gone down to posterity in every Protestant text-book to the end of time, as an irresistible proof of "Popish mendacity." Mr. Seymour however, we rather believe, has replied upon this; and as we have not had the opportunity of examining the state of the case, we leave this part of the subject to those who have.

We shall adduce one further illustration, and so conclude; and this illustration shall be from the Quarterly

organ of that self-same party, of which the "Guardian" is the hebdomadal representative,—from "the Christian Remembrancer." This periodical, in its number for October, 1850, (p. 514,) gave the following account of the tenets held by a Mr. Jerson, a rationalist: "Our Lord was *a mere preacher of natural religion, somewhat in advance of his age; contrary to his intentions*, his followers imposed upon this simple germ a mass of traditions, systems, dogmas. Christianity attached to itself Pauline, Judaizing, Roman, Pagan elements by successive accretions, until it became what it is." The writer proceeds to say, that this account of "the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity" is "substantially identical" with that of Father Newman; and that in saying this he "only states the plain fact." Now consider the gravity of this accusation, both as regards Father Newman and the Catholic Church. That he holds a simply infidel principle, and regards the whole fabric of Catholic doctrine as "imposed" upon the Christian religion, "*contrary to the intention of its Founder*," is a pretty strong statement to make against a Catholic priest. That one who has published such opinions is permitted to preach and hear confessions, nay, is greatly looked up to by Catholics in general, this is a pretty strong statement to make against the Catholic Church. That Father Newman, when a Protestant, was most undoubtedly zealous for a cast of opinions the very opposite to this, is a still further fact; both as rendering so monstrous a charge the more improbable, and also as making the charge against the Catholic Church the more grievous. A person endued with any real regard for the virtues of veracity and straitforwardness, could not even, in the first instance, have brought himself to make a charge like this, unless in temporary inadvertence as to its real nature, except on some very irresistible and cogent proof. The whole proof which he so much as alleges, is the following passage from certain lectures delivered by the great Oratorian:

"What Anglicans call the Roman corruptions, were but instances of that very same doctrinal law, which was to be found in the early Church; and in the sense in which the dogmatic truth of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin may be said in the lapse of centuries to have grown upon the consciousness of individuals, in that same sense did, in the first age, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity also gradually shine out and manifest itself more and more completely before their minds."

Such is the passage which compelled, it seems, this writer confidently to ascribe to Father Newman the opinion, that both the doctrine of the Trinity and also these prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, were dogmas imposed on Christianity, contrary to the intention of its Founder. Why, as all our readers will see, so far from this passage necessitating such a conclusion, it is not even *reconcilable* with it on any fair system of interpretation.

But far worse is to come. Mr. Ward was writing a pamphlet about that time, addressed to "the Guardian," and drew special attention to the allegation of the "Christian Remembrancer;" he also earnestly begged the Editor's attention to another passage in the self-same lectures, which was as follows: The Catholic Church

"is the organ and oracle, and nothing else, of a supernatural doctrine, which is *independent of individuals, given once for all, coming down from the first ages, and so deeply and intimately embosomed in her that it cannot be clean torn out of her, even if you would try; but gradually and majestically comes forth into dogmatic state, as time goes on and need requires; still by no private judgment, but at the will of The Giver, and by the infallible elaboration of the whole body; and which is simply necessary for the salvation of the soul....It is a sacred deposit and tradition.*"

On this passage Mr. Ward remarks, that "if Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Jerson's statement, and had wished to express distinctly the precise contradictory to it, it is difficult to see how he could have used more explicit language." Mr. Ward then proceeds: "As several readers of the Christian Remembrancer may not have looked through Father Newman's Lectures, I cannot doubt that the Editor's sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman's doctrine." And Mr. Ward mentions in a subsequent work, that he sent a private letter, with his pamphlet, to the Editor of the "Christian Remembrancer," drawing his special attention to this passage, and to this alone, in the whole pamphlet.

We suppose it will hardly be believed by those unaware of the circumstance, that from that day to this no allusion has been made to the subject, in the pages of the "Remembrancer." As no answer has been attempted, we cannot but assume that no answer is forthcoming, and that the

Editor is now aware that he made a simply calumnious charge. And yet he does all that in him lies, in order that the readers of his Review may believe this unspeakably injurious accusation to be true, which he himself lies under the ignominy of having invented, and which he now knows to be utterly and absolutely *false*; and all this, for the sake of such poor controversial advantage, as may be derivable from the unscrupulous use of calumny and falsehood. If a Catholic had been detected in anything one-half so atrocious, when should we have heard the last about "doing evil that good may come," "lying for the advantage of the Church," &c., &c.? Whereas, in this instance, we find the "*Guardian*," with all its zeal against the vice of lying, and its high-minded commonplaces about the excellence of veracity, is satisfied to praise the various contents of the party's Quarterly, without so much as a passing allusion to this unblushing mendacity. Nor, from that day to this, has any single member of the party expressed the faintest regret at the circumstance.

Mr. Gawthorn, for a purpose, with the intention of deceiving but one individual, and him only for a short time, makes a false statement indeed, but one which is injurious to no one; viz., that he, an unknown "*Francis*," is a convert to the Establishment from Dissent, and is jealous for the purity of the said Establishment's Protestantism. Immediately, from every Catholic quarter, are heard disclaimers; and before a week passes, the culprit himself confesses his fault, and begs forgiveness. On the other side it is not some obscure partizan, but the party's principal theological organ, which utters the base falsehood; its tendency is to injure most deeply, and for an indefinite period, the person against whom it is directed, and to disseminate a most foul libel against him and his Church. But here no voice of disclaimer is forthwith heard; rather the lie is sped on its way by the assenting silence of the whole number. And yet, (will it be believed?) it is one of this silently assenting party, who has the effrontery to bring against *Rome* the charge of "undermining that simple, natural love of truth, and fear of falsehood, which the human heart, when left to itself, confesses." "Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thy own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye."

That "*Rome* has a theory on the subject of lying," is

most certain; and upon that theory such proceedings as the above, are immoral and discreditable. Will the writer in the "Guardian" put forth any counter-theory on which they are otherwise? or, as he prefers, (God save the mark!) "instinctive and *primâ facie* sentiments," to a systematic theory, will he produce the persons to whose "instinctive and *primâ facie* sentiments" such proceedings are otherwise than odious? If he does so, we have only to express our intention of avoiding the company of such persons, as we should of men infected with the plague.

But we must not conclude without recording the "Chronicle's" comment on Mr. Gawthorn; which, in time to come, may really be a valuable fact, as shewing posterity, in an amusing shape, how Catholics are judged, in the 19th century, for offences which Protestants so readily, and so unblamed, commit. The passage is almost incredible, but its genuineness is undoubted.

"As to this miserable creature, Gawthorn, it is a waste of words to describe his conduct in the transaction. A more base and revolting fraud—a more complete negation of every moral principle, the lie being varied with every circumstance of degrading hypocrisy—it were impossible to conceive. *The wildest fiction that ever attributed any conceivable violation of truth and decency to the pattern-monster, which is nicknamed a Jesuit, never excogitated anything half so detestable as this fact, which is now before us—a fact which has serious bearings far wider than the detection of Gawthorn.* We shall not be urged by our indignation to accuse the Roman Catholic Church of the vice which has been displayed by its proselyte; but there is no denying that a systematic disregard of truth is the popular charge against a whole religious system, and this is a case which must go far, unless disavowed, towards accrediting and enforcing the popular estimate. This is no theory of the economy, no mere instance of the *disciplina arcani*, no esoteric doctrine from Escobar, but a solid, substantial fact, performed here, in this living England, in the month of July last past. The perpetrator of *this incredible wickedness,*" &c., &c.

ART. X.—*Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and the Charge addressed to the Clergy of Dublin in 1851.* By LORD MONTEAGLE. Dublin, Hodges and Smith.

THE noble Peer, whose pamphlet lies before us, has come boldly forward, to vindicate those generous views which he openly asserted in his seat in Parliament. But not only by his speeches, but still more by the splendid, manly, and noble-hearted protests, which he has indelibly impressed on the Journals of the House, has Lord Montague gained the respect and gratitude of every Catholic. He now undertakes to answer Dr. Whateley's Charge, in which the exclusion of Ireland from the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, proposed by Lord M., was pronounced to be an injustice. We fully award to the temporal Peer the victory over the so-called spiritual; for nothing can be clearer to any ordinary mind, than the injustice of visiting on the Irish Episcopate, an imaginary aggression in England.

But we hardly dare repine at this one additional injustice, in the accumulated mass of iniquity, of which that legislative measure is made up. Indeed, this one clear injustice has served, perhaps more than any other, to show in its true light the immoral character of the recent penal Act. Some readers may be startled by this strong word: but we hesitate not to say, that, however high its sanction, the late measure is unbased on any sound moral principles, or rather in fact contradicts them. And moreover we will boldly assert, that whatever may be the mischiefs of the Act, none is comparable to the manner, in which it must unhinge, in very many minds, respect for law, and for those who frame it.

We can hardly conceive a more fatal severance, than that between legislation and moral principles, in the mind of a people. By a great many enactments, a certain small proportion of persons may consider themselves aggrieved. Not only where crime is punished will the delinquent whom the law strikes murmur in secret, but even in very innocent provisions, hardship may be inflicted

which provokes complaints. A turnpike act may be exceedingly disagreeable to those who travel on a road ; and provoke Rebecca and her followers, to come forth by moonlight, and overthrow the obnoxious barriers. But in all this, passion and interest have the chief influence ; and none of the discontented parties protests or disobeys, upon moral principles, believed by him to be impugned or violated by the law. It would require a fanatic to find God's law assailed by any ordinary Act of Parliament.

But it is a very different thing, when a law is passed, which a very considerable portion of the population considers unjust, wicked, contrary to the law of God, to the principle of religion, to the rights of conscience. No one can doubt that authority is safest, and society best founded, when the preacher can boldly inculcate obedience to law, and the moralist can treat of such obedience as a duty. But what can be more dangerous, than a clash and collision between obedience and conscience, and a conviction that disobedience alone can satisfy the claims of this inward monitor ? And if further, this is not the feeling of a confined or peculiar class, guided by a common interest, as its impulse, but is the solemn determination of a body, that has no bond but one of principle, which contains within it every sphere and state of society, peerage, nobility, gentry, professions, trades, labour, and pauperism ; with ecclesiastics of every grade in the Church ;—then indeed it must be acknowledged, that it has been a hazardous cast, in the lottery of party-legislation, which, to gain a triumph, has risked every reverential feeling, on the part of such a body, for the deliberate decisions of authority.

A law passed in a constitutional state is supposed to be the determination of the people. *Its* sovereignty speaks and acts ; and as Ireland, no less than England, forms part of the Empire, Ireland is considered, in legal and conventional parlance, concurrent in the "Ecclesiastical Titles Act." Now that this is a fiction, an untruth, who can doubt ? Ireland protests energetically against it : she rejects, repudiates, spurns, hates and abhors it. It is law against Ireland's will, because against her holiest feelings, because it outrages what she loves best. Nor is this all. The people of Ireland consider it in direct opposition to a great principle, which can only be asserted by a non-observance of the law. For the first time in our generation, the legislature sends to that island an Act, which disintegrates,

in the mind of every Catholic, that is nearly all its population, the generally admitted, combination between the law and duty. They are put into antagonism; and the question is now asked by millions: "which must I obey? for I cannot by one act obey both." And let it be observed, that the question comes home not to the uneducated, nor the ignorant, nor the dissolute, nor the passionate, nor the hasty, nor the negligent; but to the learned, the wise, the moral, the honest, the calm, the religious. And all these answer, that to say, their country is a party to such a law, would be a calumny, a lie, a contradiction to all that their souls profess. They must then look on it as a legislation forced upon them, contrary to the spirit of the constitution, by a party stronger than themselves, millions though they be.

Moreover, it is assumed, as a principle of all wise legislation, that a law must be for the general benefit—all ought to be partakers in its blessings. What then must be said of the wisdom or morality of a law, which millions, that have a right to the advantages of all national measures, agree in considering a curse, an injury, and an abomination? It must shake all confidence in the principles which guide the imperial legislature; seeing how reckless it is of the moral feelings of vast multitudes, equally entitled to protection and consideration.

The result has been what might have been expected. Besides the principal population of Ireland, a great body in England, and still more in our colonies, concurs in believing that the greater part of last session of parliament was spent in passing a wicked and immoral law, one contrary to their recognized religious principles, which puts them in the dilemma between obeying God or man, and which sets their conscience against the exercise of their habitual obedience to law. Nor is this a chance, an accident, the results of a sinister influence. It was foreseen; no one in his senses could have doubted, that government knew it perfectly; otherwise they must have thought the whole body of Catholics an unprincipled set. But it is clear they foresaw it. In the closing speeches of the House of Lords, the only attempt made to soothe the feelings of outraged conscience, consisted in the insinuation that the law would not be found practically oppressive, would not interfere with religious rights. This was a recognition of the theoretical grievance; it was only a further immorality.

It was avowing a principle that laws ought to be passed, which beforehand, there is a sense it would be unjust to execute as they stand.

But there is much more than this. The idea of punishment is associated, in the ordinary minds of men, with that of crime. This is a moral feeling. All know that God does not punish without guilt: and the great rule of human legislation should be, to approach as near as possible to the divine. The bulk of the people, too, will give to the objects of penal enactment a name. They know that a murderer, a robber, a burglar, a swindler, a coiner, a drunkard, is a man liable, and justly so, to chastisement; and some of them by fine, and in default, &c., imprisonment. But among Catholics, at least, the name of Archbishop or Bishop has not yet become synonymous with "delinquent." On the contrary; we may say that the character of Ireland's prelates is one for which veneration and holy affection alone are felt. It is, moreover, a sacred and religious office which they hold. Now, from the present legislation, one of two things must follow. Either the Irish people, from peer to peasant, must be expected to be converted, by it, to the belief, that their bishops are men only fit to be the special subjects, for a law imposing heavy fines, and so begin to put their very name into the list of finable worthies above given; or else they must believe, as, (in such an alternative) thank God, they do, that a gross injustice, and consequently a foul immorality, has been committed, by a legislative measure directed exclusively against them, as though they formed a definite class of culprits, by virtue of their office, and amercing them heavily as such. Then a man of common mind, that is, one unaccustomed to separate the ideas of immorality and delinquency, measures (no doubt vulgarly) the magnitude of the offence by the greatness of the penalty. When, therefore, he reads in the papers of the eighth of September, that two men named Cummins knocked down a policeman, kicked him on the face, tore out a handful of his hair, and dreadfully bruised him, so that he cried out "murder," and was rescued by several officers, and also assaulted two civilians; that the magistrate declared the assault to be "most unprovoked and brutal, and therefore felt himself bound to inflict a *severe* punishment, which he hoped would be a salutary lesson to the prisoners," and therefore fined them "*twenty shillings, or fourteen days,*"

for each attack on a civilian, and inflicted a month's imprisonment (equivalent by the above equation to *forty shillings* fine,) for the assault on the policeman; when he reads in the same public records of the 18th of August, that a gentleman refusing his name at a police office, "but whose general style and appearance indicated his rank in society to be that of an officer in her Majesty's naval service, convicted of being drunk and disorderly, and of assaulting the prosecutor and an officer on duty, so that it required a dozen men to take him into custody, was fined "forty shillings for being drunk and disorderly, and forty shillings for assaulting the officer;"* he must conclude that the law considers the crime of his bishop, for which the minimum punishment awarded is a fine of one hundred pounds, as in the proportion of fines greater than drunkenness, assaults of policemen, and almost any amount of rioting, fighting, and maiming. Indeed, one bishop's offence would cover the fines of a weekly indulgence in these petty excesses. And, further, such a person as we contemplate would learn, that in the eyes of some members of the enlightened House of Commons, so grievous was the possible crime of Catholic bishops, in legislating against which a whole session was taken up, that they deemed transportation a fitting punishment for its second commission, that is the chastisement of thieves, burglars, forgers, and often murderers. And some proposed that most un-English and unknown penalty of deportation, or banishment, as fitting for this case. In other words, while the Mazzinis, the Achillis, the Struves, the Zambianchis,† the Ledru-Rollins were to be welcomed to the English shore, when they ran away from their own countries to escape their justice, the guilt of a Catholic bishop, contemplated by the new Act was considered so great, as to render him unworthy of a standing place in a country, which deems those worthies good enough for itself.

* These examples have been taken at random, from papers lying at hand.

†The butcher who shot in cool blood, the priests at San Calisto in Rome; now or lately in London. Had he been an Englishman he would have been called a murderer—and hanged. Being an Italian, he is a patriot—and honoured.

We are not pretending to follow the reasoning of those who are slaves to the supremacy of law, and who, having implicit confidence in the omnipotence of Parliament, think the contravention of any capricious legislation at once a crime. But we are trying to argue, according to the process of mere unsophisticated minds, that believe in the existence of wrong and right, based on principles higher than even the Upper House, more sovereign than the Throne itself. Now, one who held so unconstitutional a theory, and did not believe "the Nation" to have the power of creating moral principles, would proceed to ask: "what, then, is the crime or offence, over which, to express it, the congregated wisdom of this mighty people sat for six months, and ended in subjecting it to one of the heaviest money-penalties on the Statute-book; especially considering that £100 is no small portion of a Catholic bishop's income?" Well, a Catholic would come to the conclusion that the offence consists in the bishop's speaking a truth; in saying what it would be a lie for him to contradict or deny. Were any one to ask Archbishop Cullen, or Bishop Ryan respectively: "Are you Archbishop of Armagh? are you Bishop of Limerick?" and each were to answer "No," there is not a Protestant from Lord John Russell to Mr. Stowell, who would not say that the prelate had spoken contrary to his own belief and conviction, and had told a vile untruth. He would be taunted with insincerity, mental reservation, equivocation, perhaps downright lying. It is truly the very position of our Lord before the High Priest of the Jews; when he put to Him the question: "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the living God?" They knew His own consciousness on the subject, and that He could not deny, nor evade, the truth. And the consequences of avowing it, were to be fatal to Him. So with the Bishop. Were he to speak according to his conscience, he commits a crime punishable by a £100 fine.

But the Catholic might reason thus: "he is certainly my Bishop. If I deny this, I become a schismatic or worse; for I belong to his diocese. Now, how is this connection established? Thus; I am a native of Limerick, say, and he is the Bishop of, — Hold! do not pronounce the name; for there must be crime in your uttering what the law holds in such abhorrence in your Bishop, that in him it would visit the phrase with £100 fine. No man with

moral sense will see the distinction. If it was an offence in the banished Stuart to call themselves kings of England, every one sees, it was participation in the guilt, to give them the title, even in a toast. But in the present precious piece of religious legislation (for it is clearly the legislation of one religion against another,) a Catholic must try to persuade himself, that not the slightest guilt is incurred by giving a title, the assumption of which subjects him, to whom he gives it, to heavy penalties. Does not this confound the moral sense, completely? If you assert His Grace Dr. Murray, to be Archbishop of Dublin, or greet him by that title, you commit no offence: if he accepts it, he has become a malefactor before the law!

What can any plain-minded, and honest-hearted, individual say of such a law, but that not only it is unjust, but that it is truthless, immoral, and persecuting. For what can be more persecuting than a law which gives you no alternative, between incurring a penalty, or denying what you are religiously and conscientiously convinced of? Persecution is a forcing of men to belie their religious conviction, by suffering, awarded for its avowal; and every Catholic Bishop in Great Britain and Ireland is now subject to this process.

But though it is natural that the upholders of this most amiable and high-minded Bill, which will make 1851 as memorable as does the great Exhibition, should employ every effort to wipe from it the stain of persecution, it is beyond the reach of any human power to do it. Let us take a possible, and in time, a certain case. The Bishop of — goes to receive the reward of his labours. It is as necessary for a successor to be provided for him, as it is for the Catholic Church to be episcopal. If the local territory over which he presided be not furnished with a new Bishop, it becomes acephalous, presbyterian, or anything else but Catholic. And if see after see were thus to be left, in time the constitution of the Church would be changed. Now, how is provision to be made for this succession? By only one possible means, according to Catholic doctrine, and that is the very means which the law has rendered penal. Can it be denied, that episcopal government is an ecclesiastical requirement of the Catholic Church? Is it not then persecution to prevent its existence, by attaching heavy penalties to its attainment? Yet existence cannot be given to it except by a "Brief,

Rescript, or Letters Apostolical, or other instrument or writing," "obtained or procured from Rome." And the procuring of such an instrument subjects any one to £100 penalty. Is not this religious persecution?

Again, let us suppose the document procured, it must be put in use. The Bishop illegally appointed, at risk of a severe mulct, must be consecrated. If evidence can be procured, that the consecration takes place under the sanction of such a writing from Rome, there is ground, under the act, for another suit, and the recovery of a similar fine, not from one but from three or four Bishops. Yet consecration is a religious rite, a function of the Church; and so is ordination, to the performance of which by a Bishop, counsel learned in the law assure us, the withering and annihilating provisions of the act apply. It is not long ago since England was startled into horror and pious indignation, because Count Guicciardini and some other gentlemen of Florence were *said* to have been punished for meeting to read the Bible. Yet the British Parliament was at the very time seriously engaged in making it severely punishable, for Catholic prelates to join in an act as purely religious, as anything in a Bible conventicle could be. And some members were proposing the very penalty denounced as excessive at Florence, for holding a religious assembly—banishment. If one was an act of persecution, wherefore is not the other?

It may be said, indeed, that our Act is so framed, as to render conviction difficult, through default of evidence. Be it so. But this is no manner of excuse. It may prove it to be a piece of purposely powerless, and, therefore, wanton legislation; but the principle of persecution is there all the same. Men speaking the truth about themselves, in their religious capacity, or meeting for a religious and necessary purpose, are punishable by heavy penalties, not to speak of legal expenses. We have no hesitation, therefore, in pronouncing the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, a most unjust, a persecuting, and an immoral law.

But did time and space permit us to descend into the manner in which it was carried, we should be able greatly to strengthen our position. Does any one doubt, that persons in both Houses, particularly in the Upper, sacrificed their long-avowed principles, and their well-known feelings, to the necessities, as they were deemed, of party? Was

there ever, on any measure, heard in an assembly of gentlemen, coarser abuse, fouler calumny, broader untruth, than is reported in the papers to have been uttered in the House of Commons against Catholics? Was there an attempt to check the enunciation of crudities, hap-hazard assertions, groundless tales, misquotations, misinterpretations, misapplications, and even mistranslations in documents referred to, so that they served to swell the cry, inflame the unholy heat, fan the hateful flame, which a certain letter had created, and which served to bear forward on a fiery flood, the crazy bark of persecuting legislature, which had been rotting for twenty years in the supposed Tory arsenal? When did the House of Commons listen to more crooked, twisted, intricate, and thorny legal opinions, than by alternate contradictions, the various law officers of the Crown contrived here to plait and intertwine, till literally, in homely phrase, there was no making head or tail of the matter, but it had become as knottily complex as a piece of sail in the Exhibition, whose nodosity is attributed by scientific men to a gale off the Cape of Good Hope, but by sailors to the agency of a less earthly power? Was there one member who, in voting for the Bill, had the remotest idea of the legal consequences of the measure, whether it would be stringent or mild, practical or inoperative, repressive of synodical action, or open for a carriage and four to drive through; whether its object was to protect the Catholic laity, or the Protestant public, against the encroachments of Rome, to satisfy the Anglican bench or the Catholic clergy, (for even this was urged or pretended,) to punish past aggression or prevent future progress, to protest against the Letters Apostolic or to silence episcopal pastorals, to rob the Vatican of its thunders or send a shell at the Flaminian gate? What the Bill had to do, what it must do, what it should do, or what it might do, and all these with negatives in them, no breathing man could aver that he knew, as deducible from the combined law of Attorney and Solicitor Generals, past and present in the Session. Only one thing was determined, good, bad, or indifferent,—the Bill must pass; no matter by what combination of parties, by what colour of votes, by what contradiction of motives; whether, as the Whig boasted, through love of liberty, or as the evangelical

avowed, through hatred of popery, it was all one ; the thing must be done :

“ Recte si possis, si non, quocumque modo rem. ”

There is, however, one episode in this matter, and it was the closing one of the Session on which we wish more particularly to dwell, as illustrative of the reckless mode in which we have been assailed. It would indeed have remained out of the records of Parliament, had not a holy zeal determined to close the session, as it opened, and make it leave an echo behind, of the cry which it has prolonged through half a year. After the great act was accomplished, by which it was urged, the dignity of the Crown had to be avenged, and the honour of the nation vindicated ; after the blow had been struck, which retaliated, as it was supposed, on the Catholics of the Empire, an imaginary aggression from the Holy See ; after so much pain had been inflicted in obedience to the popular will, on many millions of subjects, it might have been naturally expected, that no additional topic of irritation would have been introduced into the session, but that some concession would have been made to harmony and peace, so sadly disturbed. But it was otherwise decreed. Even while Her Majesty was on her way to close the sittings of the legislature, by a speech into which phrases provocative of new irritation had unnecessarily been thrust, the closing debate was made subservient to religious hostility ; and a noble Lord thought it right to heap up fresh combustibles ; then to lay a new train, and light it at once ; that, burning by a slow match during the recess, it might be ready to explode at the opening of next Parliament. We will give the debate, as reported in the *Times* of August 8.

“ PROTESTANT CHAPEL IN ROME.

“ The Earl of Harrowby.—Having seen recently in the public papers a strong desire expressed on the part of many of Her Majesty’s Protestant subjects in this country, and *more particularly on the part of the Protestant British inhabitants resident within the walls of the city of Rome*, for the erection of a select place of public worship within the walls of that capital, I am induced to address a question on that subject to the members of Her Majesty’s Government. Hitherto the church of Rome has refused to grant to the Protestant subjects of Her Majesty permission to erect such a

building ; but *under existing circumstances, when the church of Rome is making large claims on the tolerance of this country*, and indeed of all other Protestant countries, perhaps the opportunity is not ill chosen to apply again to the Court of Rome for that permission which has hitherto been systematically and pertinaciously refused. Your lordships are perhaps aware of the encouragement which has hitherto been held out by her Majesty's Government to all our chaplaincies in foreign countries, within which Protestant churches have been established. Without asking the Government for that assistance which has never been refused elsewhere, the parties to whom I have just alluded are anxious to know whether Her Majesty's Ministers will use their best offices with the Court of Rome to obtain from it permission to erect a suitable Protestant church within the walls of the city of Rome for the worship of the Protestant church of England ?

"The Marquis of LANSDOWNE, who spoke in a very indistinct tone, was understood to say that in consequence of the notice, which he had received privately from his noble friend on this subject, he had made some inquiries regarding it at the Foreign-office. He found that no application had yet been made to the Court of Rome for the erection of a Protestant place of worship within the walls of Rome. It was true that a Protestant place of worship had been erected for British subjects outside the walls of the city of Rome, and that it was adequate for the number of persons who attended Divine service within it. He was confident that when any just complaint should be made on the subject by the British inhabitants of Rome to his noble friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, his noble friend would not be slow in making applications for its redress. Any applications at present for the erection of a permanent building for the celebration of the Protestant service of the established church, would not, he was afraid, be attended with success. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, it was an established maxim of the Court of Rome to have one degree of toleration at Rome, and another for itself in all other countries. (Hear, hear.)

"The Earl of HARROWBY spoke, as far as we could hear him, to the following effect :—The question, my Lords, is not whether there is any want of accommodation for the worship of our Protestant countrymen at Rome, but whether *we, as Protestants, are to enjoy the same liberty at Rome as the Roman Catholics, native and foreigners, enjoy here ?* The accommodation which we have at Rome for Divine worship is that of a common granary without the walls ; and that is not a fit and decent place for divine worship. As to anything of ecclesiastic splendour, that has hitherto been entirely wanting ; and the question really is, whether the church of Rome will or will not permit British Protestants to have some building erected at their own cost, appropriated to their own worship within the walls of Rome, just as the Roman Catholics of every country

have their own places of worship in almost every town in this country. He hoped that the noble Secretary for the Foreign Department would soon be called on to exercise his authority, and to make applications to the Court of Rome for this permission, *in order that the sincerity of its professions respecting toleration might be put to the test without any disguise.* (Hear, hear.)

"The Marquis of LANSDOWNE gave another reply but it was nearly inaudible. All we could collect from it was, that if the noble earl asked him whether he thought that the church of Rome would admit English Protestants to the same degrees of religious liberty in Rome as English and foreign Roman Catholics enjoyed in England, his answer must be,—'I am afraid not.'

"The Bishop of LONDON.—My lords, I entirely concur in the concluding observation of the noble marquis that little success can be hoped for in case any application is made by us for permission to erect a Protestant chapel either in the city or in any part of the dominions of the Bishop of Rome. The noble marquis has well remarked, that whether we look at the past history of the Court of Rome, or to the events which are still occurring there, it is evident that there are two points of view in which toleration is viewed by the Court and church of Rome,—namely, the toleration which is to be withholden from others, and the toleration which is to be claimed and enjoyed by themselves. (Hear, hear.) It is true that there is a granary at Rome used as a Protestant chapel by our countrymen; and that it is large enough for those who usually attend it; *but our countrymen are accustomed to pay their devotions in buildings where the external and internal decorations are proportional to the important sacred objects to which they are applied. They are, therefore, not content to worship except in a building which has something like the appearance of a temple.* In this country Roman Catholics can already obtain with ease room and space to worship God in the form which is most agreeable to their own conscience; but they are not content with that; on the contrary, *although they know that they have already far more than sufficient room in their places of worship, they have put forth, under the auspices of the Bishop of Rome himself, a proposal for building a magnificent cathedral to St. Peter in this city, where the metropolitan cathedral is dedicated to St. Paul. They are anxious, too, to have it erected in great splendour. Surely, then, they cannot blame us if we are seeking to accomplish a similar object in Rome.* As to the difficulties thrown in the way of Englishmen desirous of worshipping God at Rome *in that splendour which suits at once their ritual and their habits,* I have only to say that a large sum of money has been obtained within the last few weeks, not by indulgences (hear, hear,)—for we must not shut our eyes to the fact that the church of Rome has again had recourse to the practice which originally caused the Reformation, I mean the granting of indulgences to those who shall subscribe their money to the building of this new cathedral, or, in other words, the sale

of indulgences (hear, hear,)—for the erection of a Protestant church or chapel in Rome without an appeal to any other argument than the attachment and love of British Protestants to the church of England, its ordinances, and its ritual. (Hear, hear.) *Having seen the extraordinary document which has recently been promulgated by the Bishop of Rome, calling upon all the faithful to subscribe to the erection of a Popish Cathedral in London, to be governed by the Ordinary of London, his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, I should have deemed myself guilty of an unpardonable dereliction of duty if I had remained entirely silent during this discussion.*

“The Earl of HARROWBY.—I wish to know whether Her Majesty’s Government has any objection to lay on the table the correspondence which took place in the years 1839 and 1840 between our Minister and the authorities, lay and ecclesiastical, at Naples respecting the application of certain British subjects to build a chapel there for Protestant worship? If I recollect the circumstances aright, application was made by the British consul on behalf of the British residents at Naples to have a Protestant chapel erected in that city. If I recollect rightly, the British Minister was unwilling to interfere. Land, however, was purchased, and the works were begun. The Archbishop of Naples was informed of it, and immediately interposed his prohibition. Ultimately the contract was obliged to be cancelled, the ground was abandoned, and the English Protestants were driven back to worship in the drawing-room of the consul, where, I believe, they still continue to worship. (Hear, hear.) We ought not to shut our eyes to the tendency of acts like these, especially when the church of Rome is omnipotent in its own temporal dominions, and is aiming to extend its spiritual domination over every region of the continent. We have been told that a great reaction has taken place, and that the Pope is omnipotent in continental Europe. If we deemed it necessary to complain of his proceedings in 1839 and in 1840, have we not increased cause to complain of them now? The noble earl concluded by repeating his question.

“The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said in a tone loud enough to be heard throughout the House, “I will make inquiry into the subject.” He then proceeded to address the Earl of Harrowby for five or six minutes across the table, but not a syllable of what he said reached the gallery. The very tone of his voice was not heard there, and, but for his gesticulations, we should have thought that he was standing silent.

“The Bishop of OXFORD left his seat on the Episcopal bench, came close to the noble marquis at the table, and held his hand to his ear, as if anxious to drink in the sounds denied to the vulgar. We applied to several persons below the bar to know whether they had any, the slightest knowledge of what the noble marquis said, but were informed by them that the communication must have

been intended to be confidential, as they could not even make a guess at its import.

"At the conclusion of this whispering, the Earl of HARROWBY said that he would not press his question now, but gave notice, we believe, of a motion on the subject of it for next session."

All this refers, as our readers will see, to a proposal to build a protestant English chapel in Rome; and we may briefly add, that large sums of money have been collected towards that scheme. At the same time, it is important to trace this idea to its first origin. Is it then, that some sudden burst of religious zeal has produced this desire to worship within the Roman walls? Certainly not. A motive as Christian as all else connected with anticatholic legislation, gave rise to this new fervour. The case is as follows. The papers published some documents, emanating from the Holy See, and from the Archbishop of Florence, approving of subscriptions in favour of an "Italian Church" to be built in London. With an ingenuity of which one paper has given many splendid specimens in the course of this, and last year, this was construed into a new act of aggression; and of course retaliation, or reprisal was the natural suggestion of protestant ecclesiastical morality. Take the following account of the proposed plan from the *Morning Post* of July 1:

"The subjoined documents have recently been issued by the See of Rome.* They will be received as the first step in the sequel to the late aggressive act of the Bishop of Rome against the Queen and her regality."

Here it is at once assumed, contrary, as we shall see, to all truth, that this new Italian Church was a recent project, and subsequent, or consequent, to the establishment of the Hierarchy.

The *Times* of the 11th of August had one of those bold articles, in which truth, justice, and common honesty are cast to the winds, that form the great glory of that reckless hater of whatever it chooses not to love. Alluding to the debate of which we have given the report, it begins by observing, that "the first proceedings of the recent session were directed against the encroachments of the Bishop of

* One of the two documents, which follow this introduction, is a Pastoral from the Archbishop of Florence! So much for accuracy in stating facts.

Rome, upon the national and ecclesiastical independence of this kingdom; the last words of the same Parliament were devoted to the practicability of Protestant worship within the walls of Rome." It then proceeds to state that the Pope "*has now decreed the erection of a new cathedral, on a magnificent scale, in some conspicuous part of the metropolis.*" And after remarking that "the same Pope forbids altogether the worship of God after the rites of the English church, and condemns our countrymen to the performance of Divine service in a granary without the gates," it thus goes on.

"At this moment there stands a Cathedral of St. George in the borough of Southwark, another Cathedral of St. Patrick has been designed we believe for Westminster, and a third 'Metropolitan Church of St. Peter' is now openly announced."

Here again it is clearly proclaimed that a new Church has been decreed by the Pope to be built in London, and moreover a "Cathedral," or "Metropolitan church:" and this *now*. Compare these expressions with Dr. Blomfield's speech, and you will see how the statements of both coincide. We elicit therefore from these data the following protestant argument.

"The Pope has now decreed and ordered a new Catholic Cathedral to be magnificently built in London; and this is a consequence of the re-establishment of the Hierarchy in England, that is, of Papal Aggression; *therefore* we will insist upon Protestants having a chapel within the walls of Rome, instead of a granary outside. We are as much entitled to a chapel in Rome, as Catholics are to a Church in London."

This reasoning opens to us two different investigations. *First*, has truth been stated in the basis of this argument? and we boldly answer; No. *Secondly*, supposing all the facts, either as they stand, or as they have been represented, do they warrant the reasoning? and again we reply; No.

I. The theory of the new Church, which has been put before protestants, is therefore as follows. "The Pope, having established the Hierarchy, nothing daunted by the late clamour, has proceeded boldly to another aggressive act. This consists of an order to have a new Cathedral church built in London, in honour of St. Peter." This statement is made up of untruths. We should feel

reluctant to insinuate a charge of intentional departure from truth against any individual ; but of such an actual, though we hope unconscious, deviation, we are bound to accuse the reported speech of Dr. Blomfield. Let us see now the fallacies which have been put forth to abuse the public mind.

1. "The Pope has now decreed or ordered the building of a new Church in London." This is utterly false. It is well known to Catholics, that for a long lapse of years, their only tolerated worship was in Ambassadors' chapels. Hence Spanish Place Chapel bore the name of the State which supported it ; the Bavarian chapel is in Warwick street, the Portuguese was in South street, and the Sardinian still exists in Lincoln's Inn Fields, attached to the ancient residence of the Sardinian embassy. Some of these chapels have continued to receive support from the countries whose name they bear, and among them the last-named. The late Right Rev. Bishop Poynter, nearly thirty years ago, felt the want of an Italian Priest to assist his countrymen ; and the government of Sardinia expressed a wish, that an Italian priest should ever be attached to the Church which it helped to support. Arrangements were made for this purpose, and most successfully. Still it was found difficult to unite, in the same place of worship, an English and an Italian congregation. The Germans and the French have separate chapels, in which prayers and instructions are habitually pronounced in their own tongue. Instead of sermons in the Mass, as the Italians were accustomed to have in their own country, it was necessary to assemble them in the evening, to give them religious instruction. There are days too which they are more used to keep holy, devotions which they are more familiar with, than we are in England. Many other inconveniences were felt, which arose from discrepancy of national customs, language, and feelings. Hence in the year 1847, it was proposed to separate the Italians from the English congregation by building a new church, more in the quarter which they inhabit, more in accordance with the forms to which they are accustomed at home, both as to arrangements and as to ministration. This plan was approved of by the Archbishop of Westminster, then Pro-Vicar Apostolic ; and it was resolved to obtain the sanction of the Holy See to the plan, and leave to make collections for it in Italy. The Italian chaplain undertook the jour-

ney; and the following document was granted to him by the S. Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

“*Jacobus Philippus tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in Araceli Sanctæ Rom. Ecclesiæ Presbyter Cardinalis Fransonius Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Præfectus, &c. &c.*”

“Cum in frequentissima Lodinensi urbe plures Itali degant, quibus haud facile Religionis subsidia præsto sunt, ut præsertim divini verbi prædicationi intersint, ac poenitentiae Sacramento perfrui valeant; probandum sane visum est consilium quo pii viri nonnulli Ecclesias peculiariter pro Italis erigendam curant. Patet vero non mediocrem, ut id fiat, pecuniæ summam requiri: atque hinc est quod Italicae gentis opem imprimis expostulandam ii duxerint, ut Religionis auxilia, quibus eadem tantopere abundat, fratribus inibi constitutis uberius patere satagat. Proinde Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide opus huiusmodi universis Italiae Episcopis commendandum censuit, quatenus prout temporum adiuncta, aliaque pia opera charitati fidelium commissa sinant, istud quoque insinuent, ac pecuniam pro viribus ad illud suppeditandam curent. Noverint autem sollicitudinem hanc demandatam imprimis fuisse R. D. Raphaeli Melia Presbytero Romano et Missionario Apostolico, qui per tres annos in præfata Londinensi urbe plurimum pro Italis adlaboravit, eique documentum hujusmodi concedimus, ut omnimodam fiduciam valeat obtinere.

“Datum Romæ ex Ædibus dictæ S. C. de Propaganda Fide die 7 Decembris 1847.

Loco † sigilli.

“J. Ph. Cardinalis Fransonius Præf.
“Alexander Barnabò Pro-Secret.”

From this document it is clear that a church especially for the use of Italians was planned in London in 1847, and did not originate from the Pope, or from Rome: and that the project was only approved at Rome. On the 25th of February, 1848, His Eminence Cardinal Orioli, Prefect of the “S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars,” issued a circular to all the Bishops of Italy, earnestly requesting them to allow a collection in every Church in their dioceses, in favour of this Church. And, as if to give greater notoriety to this first origin of the Church in question, our readers will recollect a document published, a few months ago, in the papers, and alluded to by Lord Minto, to show that the Hierarchy was known to be projected in 1848; because it stated that “subscriptions would be received in London by His Lordship the Vicar Apostolic, now Archbishop of Westminster.” This appeared in the Roman paper, and it was the prospectus of this very

church. Ignorance, therefore, cannot be pleaded of the fact, that at least in 1848, the intention of building the Italian Church was publicly avowed.

Again in 1850, the same Italian priest had occasion to visit Italy; and he took advantage of the circumstance to push the subscriptions in that country, which in the interval had been suffering from the republican tyranny. He carried with him the following testimonial.

"The Rev. Doctor Melia being one of the Trustees of the Church to be erected in London, for the benefit, not only of English Catholics, but especially of Italians and other foreigners; We, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, authorize him to collect alms in this District for the said object by himself, or through other persons appointed by him. We also warmly recommend this most interesting work to the charity of the faithful, not only of England, but also of other nations, for whose advantage the erection of the said Church is principally intended.

"Given at our Residence, 35, Golden Square, London,
August the 10th, 1850. "† N. WISEMAN."

It cannot be doubted that the Church thus described in 1850, was the same as had been approved of, at Rome, in 1847, nearly three years previous. We may observe, that, in the mean time, it had been proposed to enlarge the scheme, by making it embrace other foreigners, as the Spaniards, Poles, &c., by having chapels attached to the church, appropriated to those nations, with their own clergy to serve them. Accordingly in the Trust-deed alluded to in the above document, the Trustees consisted of the Bishop, two Italian (naturalised) priests, one Spanish, and one Greek, gentleman. Application was made for ground by these Trustees, before there was any appearance of the Hierarchy.

Now it only remains to be seen, that the Church, which, this year, has caused such alarm to the religious public in England, is the self-same as was planned, approved, and collected for, nearly three full years before the fancied papal aggression was heard of. It is true that the wolf in fable, showed a noble contempt for chronology, when he wanted to devour the lamb; and so doubtless do newspapers. But here, at least, the case is too plain for cavil. As the papal documents (so called) did not contain the milliners' descriptions of court dresses, after a drawing-

room, it is possible that the Editor of the *Morning Post* did not consider it his duty to peruse it, before ordering it to be printed. If he had, he must have seen that the Roman document clearly refers to the church which preceded, in design, the introduction of the Hierarchy, and was not its first sequel. It refers to the site, and specifies the very sum in the contract for the original Italian church. It alludes to Cardinal Orioli's circular of Feb. 1848, as being in favour of the same pious work, and refers to Cardinal Wiseman's approbation, which was clearly given to the Italian church of '47. In fact, it must seem a waste of time, to prove what is evident from the series of documents here produced.

The building of the Italian church, therefore mentioned in the papers, and adduced by Dr. Blomfield, in proof, did not emanate from the Pope; was not ordered by him; was not decreed. The Pope himself says, in the document of Dec. 7, 1847; "it has appeared proper to approve the design of some pious men, who are providing the erection of a church peculiarly for the Italians."

2. It is not "now" that the Pope has even approved of the plan, as the *Times* has it, "has now decreed," "Is now announced." The Pope had approved of it three years and a half before.

3. The Church is pompously proclaimed to be a "Cathedral" and a "Metropolitan Church." So the *Times*, and so Dr. Blomfield, whose words now claim attention. "Although they" (the Catholics) "know that they have already far more than sufficient room in their places of worship, they have put forth, under the auspices of the Bishop of Rome himself, a proposal for *building a magnificent Cathedral to St. Peter*." Again, "having seen the extraordinary document, which has recently been promulgated by the Bishop of Rome, calling upon all the faithful to subscribe to the erection of a *Popish Cathedral in London, to be governed by the Ordinary of London, His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, &c.*" Now, we defy any one to discover, in any one document that has appeared, an intimation that the projected Church was meant to be a Cathedral. Dr. B. speaks as though the Pope had so described it; and, moreover, his words would lead any one to imagine, that the phrase "to be governed, &c.," occurred in some papal document. Yet, nothing of this is true. Neither the Pope nor any other Roman

authority, nor the Archbishop, nor any English authorized person, has ever expressed an intention of making the Italian Church a cathedral; nor has any appeal been made to the public, here or abroad, in its favour, under this name. The whole is a fiction. And yet drop it, and more than half of Dr. Blomfield's point is lost. For surely his contrast between the Cathedral to be dedicated to St. Peter, and the Cathedral already existing in London, dedicated to St. Paul, becomes flat, when the first is discovered to be no Cathedral at all, but only an ordinary Church. Nor can there be any great act of aggression, or wonderful stretch of papal power, in approving of the building of a new Catholic Church, and recommending it to the charity of Catholic Italy.

But the speech just quoted, contains another assertion totally contrary to fact. "They know that they have already far more than sufficient room in their places of worship." Simply this is not true. There is not nearly room enough for Catholics, as we have ascertained on the best authority, in their present London Churches; every new accommodation that is afforded is immediately occupied. And even if it were otherwise, we have a right to calculate upon accession of numbers; for the Catholic is a growing body. Does any one pretend that the new Protestant churches, daily built, are at once filled? Then according to this reasoning, why build them? But we repeat the assertion is incorrect, and ungrounded.

Thus much of the Italian Church. It was projected in 1847, in England, approved in Rome in the same year. These few simple facts have been transmuted into the following marvellous tale. "The Pope, in 1851, decreed the erection in London, of a magnificent Cathedral to St. Peter, as the first step in the sequel to his aggression against the Queen!"

II. And this lie, or "Mumpsimus," or Protestant inchoate "tradition," has sufficed to draw several thousands of pounds, out of that most capacious of all depots for religious mares' nests — John Bull's pocket. And how? The sagacious public is told, that the Pope intends building for himself a Church in London; so it must give him tit for tat, and build one for itself in Rome. This public, now, for the first time, hears a lamentable tale. As Peter the Hermit, came from the East, to harrow the chivalrous hearts and pious souls of the Catholic

West, by describing the cruelties and extortions to which pilgrims, visiting the holy sepulchre, were subjected, by Saracen misrule, and a crusade ensued, in which men gave their blood as well as their money; so now do many tongues and many pens proclaim, how wrongfully, how harshly, how brutally English Protestants are treated, and have been for some twenty years, by the Pope of Rome. These pilgrims of the Colosseum and the Apollo Belvedere, have been condemned for years, to their hard lot; and they have borne it with most edifying serenity. Every body has known it; thousands upon thousands have carried the intolerable burthen, uncomplaining. Rectors, deans, bishops, one archbishop at least of the Establishment, have bent their necks to the galling yoke, unrepining. Officers, military and naval, baronets, peers, and royal princesses, have again and again submitted to the cruel treatment unreluctant. And what was this tyranny, this abasement, this barbarity, to which they have so meekly submitted? All England now hears it with horror and dismay. "The Pope," exclaims the *Times*, "condemns our countrymen to the performance of Divine service in a granary, without the gates!" "A common granary without the walls," exclaims Lord Harrowby: "a granary at Rome," echoes Dr. Blomfield. A "granary" thus becomes the new cry: in that word is concentrated all the hideousness of the Protestant position in Rome. What a picture does it not open to the imagination! "The Pope condemns" (*condemns* mind!) "our countrymen to the performance of Divine service in a granary;" that is, imagine to yourself a huge magazine, without glass windows, open to the tiles, with a brick floor, beams covered with cobwebs, begrimed walls; with here a mouse, and there a rat, peering from nooks and cannies; at one end the upheaped grain with great hanging sieves, shovels, and other cereal implements, perhaps the "*mystica vannus lacchi*;" at the other, our poor countrymen and women "condemned" by the cruel Pope there to say their prayers. Such is the idea of worshipping in a *granary*, suggested to one who has seen abroad, any of those useful receptacles of bread-stuffs.

Now, gentle reader, let not your imagination thus run riot. The place in which our Protestant brethren are "condemned, to pray" is well glazed and ceiled, and has its walls in neatest trim. It has, *more Anglicano*, a warm

carpet on the floor, and a stove to add to its warmth. It is seated, we believe, with chairs throughout; and is provided with pulpit, desk, and table, as seemly as in an English parish church. Is this what the public would understand by a "granary?" But the building, of which it forms a floor, is a granary. True: and there are few palaces in Rome and in other great cities of Italy or Spain, of which the ground floor is not a granary, or a store-house of some sort. Yet the nobleman, who dwells above, is not, therefore, said to live in a "granary." And even if the very room *was* a granary, it has ceased to be so, after its form, furniture, appearance, and purpose have been changed. It is clearly only *ad captandum* that the name is here applied; it is to make a case of hardship, and nothing else. It is one more instance of the honesty, justice, and morality, of the entire cause.

We may add, also, that if the English place of worship has anything to do with a granary, it is the fault of those who made the first arrangement. They found the room which they selected, or accepted, the most convenient; but nothing compelled them to prefer the now obnoxious granary. There were other buildings near, villas, for instance, that could have been procured. But at that time the objection was not felt, and we are much mistaken if even Mr. Burgess, now so zealous in the anti-granary cry, did not express himself thankful for the establishment of a regular place of worship "without the walls." And now for a word on *this* grievance. Does the reader imagine the walls of Rome to be surrounded by a moat, with glacis and counterscarp, repelling every habitation to cannon-shot distance from their bristling front? No such thing. The traveller, who visits Rome from the north, after passing through a mile of villas and other buildings, enters by the Flaminian gate, and finds himself at once in the most beautiful square of the city. Large hotels, on either side, announce to him at once that he is in the strangers' quarter. From it radiate three streets, in which, with their neighbouring squares, are almost all the lodging houses for our oppressed countrymen. Now scarcely one hundred yards from that gate, nearly opposite the entrance of the once beautiful Villa Borghese, stands this dreaded granary. It is truly without the walls of Rome; but was it placed there either by an act of oppression, or as a dishonour? Let those answer who remember its beginnings, and looked then upon the

arrangement as a great boon, and what, perhaps, is more to the purpose, as a comfort.

The English used originally to meet for worship in any large room that could be secured, in some one's lodgings, for this purpose. We believe some time it was in the Palazzo Valdambrini. This shifting church became at length more settled, in the way thus described by Mr. Burgess. "It would, however, have required a very vigorous execution of the law, to prevent a foreigner, 'who had already his own hired house,' " (he alludes to the motto of his book, Acts, xxviii. 30,) "from inviting his countrymen to a private assembly, and under this form (it must be confessed a pretext) divine service was celebrated in a commodious room, in the *vicola degli Avignonesi*, situated near the ancient circus of Flora."* In spite of the classical recollections of the large room in a steep and narrow street, there is no doubt that the transfer of its duties to a permanent, ample, and properly arranged locality, just outside the gate, was hailed by all English Protestants, at the time, as a most decided improvement of position; nor till now have any complaints been heard. Let us, therefore, examine the grounds which have been alleged, for an application from our government to that of Rome. For as these have been used against us, we have a right to discuss them, apart from any more diplomatic reasons which do not appertain to our sphere.

1. The main ground on which the new claim is made, is one of reciprocity. The Pope, it is urged, has put forward new pretensions to a Cathedral in London, therefore let us have a Church in Rome. We have shown this reasoning to be founded on untruth. The Holy See has not ordered, nor directed, either a Cathedral or a common Church to be built in London; it has only re-approved of a plan proposed to it in 1847, and then first approved by it, for a foreign Church in the metropolis.

Lord Harrowby thus urges the argument: "Under existing circumstances, *when the Church of Rome is making large claims on the tolerance of this country*,... perhaps the opportunity is not ill-chosen to apply again to

* "Lectures on the insufficiency of unrevealed religion, and on the succeeding influence of Christianity, delivered at the English chapel" (granary?) "at Rome, in 1830, and 1831."—p. 11.

the court of Rome." Again: "The question is...whether *we, as Protestants, are to enjoy the same liberty at Rome, as the Roman Catholics, native and foreigners, enjoy here?*" The spiritual Peer takes the same view as the temporal; that is, the religious view. Both say: Catholics are allowed, and claim to build Churches in London, therefore Protestants should do the same in Rome. This might do very well if we claimed, or did, this as Catholics, and not as subjects, on the same ground as Methodists, or Mormons, or Jumpers, or Unitarians. The Catholic subjects of the British Empire do, and claim, neither more nor less than is granted to all their fellow-subjects; aye, than is granted to all foreigners, to Greeks, and to Mohommedans even, and to Hindoos and Parsees, and, for aught we know, to the worshippers of Mumbo Jumbo. Is this the position of Lord Harrowby and those whom he and Dr. B. design as "we?" The argument should stand thus: "Catholic subjects of Queen Victoria claim, *as such*, the right of enjoying, *in their own country*, that liberty of worship which belongs to them; and therefore *a pari*, Protestant subjects of the same Sovereign claim *as such*, a similar right, *in a foreign country*." Will Lord Harrowby, whom we have always considered a sensible man, insist that there is here the slightest parity of reasoning? Are we British Catholics temporal subjects of the Pope, who "are making large claims," by asking to build a Church within the dominions of the Queen, so to warrant the temporal subjects of her Majesty to make similar demands on the Pope? Or are not both sides equally the subjects of one Sovereign, and making the most opposite claims—we, the Catholics, (if ours can be called a claim,) in our own country; they, the Protestants, in another? In our country we have *rights*; does this, by reciprocity, create them for them in another?

Let us then amend Lord Harrowby's plea, thus: "The question is, whether *we, as Protestants*, are to enjoy the same liberty *at Rome*, which *Roman Catholics, as subjects*, enjoy here, that is, in their own country." This is a complete *non sequitur*. We repeat again, this is not a question of religious, but of civil claims; there is not any exclusive right demanded by Catholics, but only that which they share with every other form of religion. Were

there a body of Protestants, subjects of the Pope, in existence and recognized by him, who asked for liberty of worship denied to them, a parity might be, so far, produced between their claims in Rome and ours in England. But a man must be blind to see such a parity, and call on the British Government to act upon it, where the claimants in one case are subjects and in the other not; where one side only exercises an admitted and legally established right, and the other cannot pretend to any.

But let us further examine who are the "we," so resolutely and confidently put forward, as having equal rights in Rome with what Catholics have in England. We will not understand by that plural pronoun, the nation, the mighty empire, which sends its fleets to overawe distant coasts, and waves its flag over the coral reefs of the Pacific as easily as over the chalk-cliffs of England. Although of late years its expeditions of terror are supposed to have reversed, in their purpose, the old Roman principle,

"Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos;"

still, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that it was a right of might that was claimed, or that any but a moral and equitable ground of appeal was intended, by those members of the Lords' House, when they suggested the propriety of government interference. Dr. Blomfield speaks of "our countrymen;" Lord Harrowby divides the malcontents into two bodies—the Protestant public in general, and the residents in Rome. The first grievance, therefore, is on the part of English inhabitants. It may be well just to mention, that for half the year, the actual English Protestant inhabitants of Rome do not amount to twenty. This year, the entire number of English, in the city and neighbouring places of summer resort, is about seventy, of whom at least twenty are Catholics.* But during the summer, when hardly any English remain in the city, the clergyman is generally absent, and the granary is closed. Moreover, without any evil speaking, we may truly say, that the class of residents, mostly artists,

* Of course this does not include the inmates of ecclesiastical communities, as the English, Irish, Scotch, and Propaganda colleges, the Irish Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, &c.

some Scotch presbyterians, are not very likely to have made much complaint on church subjects. Indeed, on enquiry in the best quarter that we could have access to, we are assured no complaint has been made.* Lord Harrowby, therefore, would have done well to have stated positively, if he could, in what form the wishes, of the English residents, for a church has been made known.

It is evidently for the casual and ever-changing visitors of the Eternal City that this reciprocity is demanded. The Irish and English Catholics form an integral portion of the population of this empire. They have their property or their professions in it; they hold their stake in its prosperity and peace; they contribute their fair and full share to its taxes and burthens; they make up a larger portion of its army than relative numbers would suggest, taking the whole of its inhabitants. They are to be found in every occupation of life, and they discharge their social and public duties with honour. They are a numerous class; in Ireland several millions; in England they are many, and gaining ground. Even the foreigners, for whom a church was to be provided, are far more numerous than the richest season in Rome can ever count; but what is chiefly to our purpose, they are residents. In 1849, the number of English who visited Rome in the whole year was 576; in 1850, it rose to about 1100; from January to August of this year there were about 820 English, at various times in Rome.† Of course, the entire number was never there at once. But having made every enquiry into the number of Italians in London, we have been assured that it amounts to nearly, if not quite, five thousand. Of these a certain number consist of mere itinerants; but there is a large class of industrious residents, many of whom employ many hands, generally of their own

* As far as we can learn, the only move that has been made in Rome, has consisted of a plan to move the chapel from without the gate to a room in the Palazzo Lepri, in Via Condotti, as being more central. A person of the name of Sertori, the factotum of the chapel, conducted the negotiation; which was brought to a close, not by the Government, but by Spillman the confectioner, who, we suppose, outbid the churchwarden.

† We have received these statements through the kindness of a friend, who procured them from genuine sources.

country. And if we add foreigners of other nations, residing near and in the city, we may safely encrease the number to seven or eight thousand. These foreigners have been, in many instances, for years established here, carry on lucrative trades, and pay their share of imposts to the State, and to local demands. They have, indeed, become almost incorporated with the inhabitants; and their next generation, in many cases, will only be distinguished from them by the Italian names they bear.

Will it be said, that whatever claims these two classes inherit, or have acquired in the country where they live and have placed or hold their all, are just as much held by the holiday people who make Rome their watering place for a few months, enrich, perhaps, innkeepers, horse-jobbers, and artists, but have no stake there, pay not a tax or a rate, and in no one way support the burthens of the State? Surely there is a wide difference between the two; yet perfect equality is claimed!

3. Dr. Blomfield does, in fact, claim perfect equality. "Surely," he says, "they cannot blame us, if we are seeking to accomplish a similar object." The object to which a similar one is to be sought to be accomplished is a cathedral in London. Is his Lordship serious? Does he mean to say, that an Anglican cathedral is to be, or ought to be, built, and then followed by parish churches, &c., in Rome? But, truly, does any one gravely entertain this principle,—that the English birds of passage who visit Rome, are entitled to the full range of religious action, which the law, and the very groundwork of Protestantism secure to Catholics in this country; and that merely because the latter possess it? We cannot believe it.

In all that we have written, we have not pretended to deal with the abstract question of right to toleration. That is a distinct matter. We have only taken the argument as we are mixed up with it, as our conduct here is made the basis of a claim elsewhere, and we are, in a manner, sought to be held responsible for what may be decided there. We have shown, that in addition to the falsehood of the basis of the entire argument, the reasoning against us will be: "Because Rome refuses to strangers a certain liberty, England should refuse the same to some of its subjects, because they profess the same religion with Rome." But we may go higher in the argument, without trenching on the abstract question of toleration. We do say, therefore,

that we see peculiar reasons why, at this moment certainly, such a demand as the two Lords of Parliament, so often alluded to, wish our Government to make, should be refused.

First, it does not follow that reciprocity of principle must exist in different nations. England does not expect, though it may wish it, that free-trade will prevail in every other country. But at any rate, it acts with other nations, not according to its own principles and wishes, but according to the laws that exist in those countries. For a British merchant to act in Spain on the English free-trade principle, would be simply smuggling, and a gross offence. Does the British Government call upon all other Governments to *act* according to our laws and not according to their own? or if they wish them to conform their conduct to our principles, is not the first natural step to invite them to modify their principles, and adopt ours? It would be not only absurd but insulting, to claim from any power the violation of its own laws.

England has long established free-trade in religion as in everything else. Universal toleration is the religious equivalent to our great commercial principle. Let it not, however, be forgotten how it has been obtained. For centuries the religious Establishment of the country was as exclusive, as intolerant, as persecuting as any imaginable Church could be. Only as its power gave way before the encreasing strength of seceders from it, did it reluctantly relax its gripe; and toleration is not a principle of that body to which Dr. Blomfield belongs, nor a boon to which it was a consentient party, but a hard-earned spoil wrested from the enemy. Catholics came in for their share, when their exclusion was deemed dangerous. Toleration is the consequence of dissent and of plurality of religions. It is, therefore, both natural and necessary in this Empire.

But other countries, in which there has not been the cause, the consequence is not as necessarily found: where there has been no one to tolerate, toleration would not be either a claim or a concession. It is not therefore recognised by law. So it is in Spain, in Naples, in Rome. Of such States, the conduct must be regulated by the law. To ask a Government to act contrary to its laws, as we observed above, is merely to insult it. Your negotiations must begin by asking it to re-consider its laws, and see if they can be modified. Ask these States to admit the principle

of universal toleration; and then, if they agree, proceed to act on the new admissions. It will be for each Government to consider, how far the wishes of mere strangers, who desire to amuse themselves in its dominions for a few months, may be sufficient ground for altering a principle, which at least holds good in all the interests of its own subjects. It may admit certain concessions, or partial toleration; it may grant more or less; but we repeat, there is no right to ask for conduct adverse to principle and law.

We have a recent illustration of this maxim. England, as yet, refuses civil liberty to the Jews. No one stands forward as their advocate, more warmly than the First Lord of the Treasury. But when, lately, the newly-elected member for Gravesend endeavoured to *act* contrary to the law, and take his seat in the House, Lord John Russell was the first to thwart this attempt. It was on the principle, that the law, indeed, ought to be changed, but so long as it exists, conduct at variance with it must not be permitted.

We say, therefore, that so long as the law stands as it now does in those different states, you have no right to claim a toleration which it does not grant. And to ask for the erection of a new Protestant Church in Rome, while this is forbidden by the law, is, of course, to court a refusal. Lord Harrowby, indeed, thinks it important to test the sincerity of the Court of Rome on this head. Now, how has Rome given grounds for the application of this test? It is as well known as possible, that the Catholic religion is the only one of the Pontifical States. And has the Pope asked of England to grant toleration to his spiritual children? Certainly not: they have fought their own battle of centuries to obtain it, and they knew how to bear ages of defeat and tyranny. Then what pretensions, or assumptions, or claims of the Pope have to be tested? Again we repeat, the law of Rome does not admit universal toleration, any more than free-trade. It gives every facility for freedom of worship; but it does not put other religions on a level with the Catholic.

Then what is to be done? If our government, in its wisdom, thinks it proper to apply to the Pope—not to break his existing laws—but to change them, it will at least begin at the right end. Now, the Pope, or any other sovereign, similarly circumstanced, may reason on this

principle ; that, in making or changing laws, it is his duty to consult the benefit of his subjects, and not the opinions or wishes of strangers. He would reflect whether having no Protestant subjects he should legislate for Protestants, (any more than an inland State should make naval laws ;) and whether it would be truly a blessing and an increase of peace, to open the door to the preaching of every variety of new doctrine, where there had, till now, been only one. They who consider all Catholics immersed in religious darkness, will think so : but as the Pope, or a Catholic prince, has here to reason, he will probably come to an opposite conclusion. He might please to permit modifications, to meet the greater intercourse between nations, and a growing disposition in strangers to dismiss old prejudices ; but we are sure that no reasoning, on the basis of the moral good of subjects, starting from a Catholic principle, could lead to the conclusion, that the floodgates of toleration should be so thrown open, as to allow a *colluvies* of sects to inundate the land. Yet this would be the only mode of acting on a principle of reciprocity.

For, *secondly*, let it be observed, that full toleration, as now asked, must go thus far. Let us not shrink from the plain truth. The Catholic Church never has recognised, and never can recognise the Establishment of this country, as more than a sect of Protestantism. She knows nothing of its legal Bishops, and that not since last year, but for the last three centuries. The Holy See could grant no distinct or specific permission to the "Church of England" to have a Church. This would be a recognition of its ecclesiastical existence. A Protestant Chapel is permitted ; but no one enquires whether ordained clergymen or circuit-preachers officiate there. But if government treats for a Church, such as Dr. Blomfield describes, the Holy See cannot, we conceive, entertain the proposal. If it allow one body to have its public chapel, it will have to contemplate the necessity of admitting all. We have it on high authority, that Dr. Cumming has collected money for *some* chapel in Rome. Is it the same as Dr. Blomfield proposes ? Is the Anglican dignitary embarked in the same boat with the Presbyterian, anti-prelatic zealot ? Will each be represented in the same temple ; or will they sink their differences, upon such minor points as Baptismal Regeneration, imposition of episcopal hands, and apostolical succession ; or, finally, are two chapels to be asked

for, the Episcopal, and the Presbyterian? We know further, that some coxcomb or other has written to some authority in Rome, to enquire how far a mission, composed of godly ministers of various denominations, would be admitted? Yet, of all these conflicting sects, and many more, must that toleration be capacious, which is based on the principle of reciprocity—the ground assumed by our lay, and ecclesiastical, lords. If any one, calling himself a Churchman, really thinks the Pope should be urged to the admission of this Babel into his States, we can only explain his idiosyncrasy, by the fable of the outwitted animal, which having left its own caudine appendage in a trap, wished all of its tribe to entail on themselves the same misfortune.

Thirdly. We were at first too much amused by the boldness of the following passages in Dr. Blomfield's speech, to notice the key which followed them, to the present movement.

"But our countrymen are accustomed to pay their devotion in buildings, where the external and internal decorations are proportional to the important sacred objects to which they are applied. They are, therefore, not content to worship, except in a building which has something like the appearance of a temple.".....

"Surely they cannot blame us, if we are seeking to accomplish a similar object in Rome. As to the difficulties thrown in the way of Englishmen, desirous of worshipping God at Rome, in that splendour which suits at once their ritual and their habits, &c."

Should poor Mr. Bennett, on the continent, have read this passage, will he not have been amazed? Dr. Blomfield descanting on "that splendour which suits the Anglican ritual and mind;" and complaining of the want of "internal decoration" in the Anglo-Roman chapel, as a just ground for government applying to the Pope for a Church! His Lordship must, indeed, have been badly off for an argument, when he stooped to pick this up. But after these words, the noble speaker proceeds to state, that a large sum of money has been collected in a few weeks, upon no grounds, but those of attachment and devotion to the Anglican Establishment, towards building this highly-decorated Church.

We cannot carry our credulity so far, even under such an authority, as to believe, that pure love for that institution elicited this ready alms. Are we to believe, that not a

thought of being avenged ever crossed a giver's mind, not a feeling of antipathy towards the Pontiff, nor a desire to see him and his annoyed, not one lurking hope that this would be a centre of proselytism among the native Catholics? Does Dr. B. himself believe that, had it been described how the Anglicans at Carlsrona, in Sweden, had been prevented (though allowed elsewhere since 1741,) from building a suitable Church, and had therefore worshipped in an extramural granary; and that had he therefore called on all good Anglicans to join in procuring them a splendid Church, there would have been a large sum immediately subscribed, out of pure affection for the Anglican establishment? Yet the motive would have equally existed here. But no; he well knows, for he is no dull mind, that it was not love for Anglicanism, but hatred to Rome, that acted as a charm in drawing forth the purses of Dissenters, as well as Anglicans, in favour of this religious speculation. "A Church Protestant at Rome!" This was the watchword, the talisman that acted so magically.

Then let things be plainly spoken at once, and let the truth come out. It is not to gratify the devotion of Protestants, but to corrupt the faith of Catholics, that the scheme has been devised. It is an effort to attract, beguile, cozen, and pervert the children of the faith, at their own hearth, that is about to be made. It is the wish to multiply the Achillis, the Cioccis, the Mappeis, and to swell the black list of apostacy, which is father to this thought, of having splendour of service, and rich decoration of place, in one who at home has been their openest foe. And Tuscany has afforded abundant proof, that religious proselytism is but the cloak to political intrigue, and that fidelity to the throne soon follows, in destruction, that due to God.

We cannot, for a moment, conceive that the Pontifical government will look upon the proposal, if made, in any other light than this: as a mere attempt to spread Protestantism among its Catholic subjects, not as a step to increase the religious comfort of British worshippers.

Fourthly. Let us now put a case. Dr. Blomfield is legal holder of much property in the neighbourhood of London, let out on building leases. Let us suppose (and this is not an imaginary case,) that application were made to him, to lease a plot of ground for building thereon a Catholic Church. We put it to his conscience, would

he grant it? We are much mistaken if such application was not made, near Bayswater, and refused. We know of certain instances where such a lease, for such a purpose, has been refused by Anglican authorities. Nay, more, we have lately known a case (only prudence obliges us to suppress the name at present,) where public Commissioners, acting by virtue of an Act of Parliament, and consequently in the name of the nation, have refused a site, upon public ground, on sale, for building a Catholic Church, expressly and avowedly because such was its destination. Now, what was the reasoning of his Lordship, or these Commissioners? Why, doubtless, that they considered the Catholic religion unscriptural, false, and corrupt; that they could not concur in propagating, or more firmly establishing it; and that, on the contrary, they must employ the authority committed to them, to prevent its spread, and impede the building of any place calculated to procure it.

Surely the Pope is bound to act according to his convictions as much as Dr. Blomfield, or public Commissioners. He has as much right to say, that, holding Anglicanism to be a heresy, he is not to be expected to concur in its propagation. At any rate, if an Anglican dignitary would not think himself open to blame, if he prevented Catholics from building a Church where he had power, he ought not to charge the Head of the Church with greater intolerance than his own, if he acts similarly towards foreign Protestants.

If Dr. Blomfield's consent were necessary before Catholics could build a Church anywhere in London, how many would they be allowed to build?

Fifthly. We must now call attention to an expression of Lord Harrowby's, which indeed amazed us. "Under existing circumstances, when the Church of Rome is making large claims on the tolerance of this country," his Lordship thinks it most becoming that Government should make demands on Rome. Now, what "large claims" had the Church of Rome just made? We must suppose, the claim to establish our Hierarchy. Now, when you set up claim for claim, it is generally understood, that one conceded claim entitles to a demand for another in compensation. Lord Harrowby's argument seems to be grounded on this form of reasoning. "The proper time for me to make a demand from you, is just

after you have made one on me, and I have most indig-
nantly refused it." His Lordship's party believed that
they had not only rejected, but contemptuously repulsed,
the Papal overture; they had declared all that it proposed
null and void, and they had rendered those whom it
regarded liable to heavy penalties. Whatever "large
claims" had been made, they were now crushed and
trampled under foot by the full weight of legislative avenger-
ment. It is with the record, in hand, of this act of tri-
umph, with a declaration of defiance and hostility waved
before the occupier of the Papal throne, with the boast on
the lips, that his acts were stultified and nullified by the
omnipotence of the British Legislature, perhaps with an
informer's petition to sue one of his Bishops mysteriously
half-shown, that Government has to approach and address
the holy Father, and make on him a claim for favour and
extended privilege. And this a British Peer, and conse-
quently an honourable man, considers a becoming course.
He thinks it is no more than making our claim oppor-
tunately, because the Pope has just advanced his! To
make the parallel a finished work, his Holiness must treat
the Protestant's claim as they have treated his.

But if there be really a desire to test the sincerity of
Catholic principles on the subject of toleration, why go to
make the experiment in a country like Italy, where the
elements for trial are positively wanting? Why not go to
countries professedly Catholic, as much as England is Pro-
testant, but with a certain number of Protestant inhabi-
tants? Look at Belgium for instance, a thoroughly
Catholic State, but containing a small Protestant popula-
tion. Is there not complete—not toleration, but equality,
and an equality impartially carried out? But what is
more, there is no taunting, jibing, calumniating, system-
atically carried on by the strong against the weak; no
attempt to excite the passion of the mob against Protes-
tants. It is the same in France, or in Bavaria; in fine,
wherever there are Protestant subjects in a Catholic state.
The toleration shown to these is far greater, completer,
and sincerer, than we receive from a Protestant ascendancy.
Why not go, we repeat, to these countries where the case
is parallel with England, for criterions of Catholic tolera-
tion, instead of to purely Catholic sovereignties, where the
principle cannot have been applied?

Does any one doubt the sagacity of Dr. Blomfield or

Lord Harrowby, to see and know this? Do they require the example of Belgium to be pointed out to them? Surely not: but it would not answer their purpose. It certainly would not answer the purpose of their more fanatical followers, who try now again to rouse the passions of the people, to back their diplomatic application; those, we mean, who have chalked the walls of London in every direction with this inscription, "Demand a church in Rome, or burn down all the — mass-houses in England."

Here is a specimen of the zeal, which springs up from attachment to the "Church of England," as it is called; of the pure, unmixed, and holy fire, which that unhappy institution keeps alive upon its altars, and mistakes for charity. It is the fanaticism of party to which it appeals, and not a zeal for God's House. It is upon a few lingering passions, no longer of the people, but of a class, that it leans, and to the prejudices and bigotry of the still ignorant that it looks. The people knew nothing, and cared little, for the state of the English Chapel at Rome—no more than they troubled themselves about one at Naples or Leghorn. It was determined to make a cry of the subject; and, whoever, directly or indirectly, procured the defilement of London's walls, when the city was full of Catholic strangers, with such an unchristian, unsocial, and almost treasonable inscription, (for it urges to universal riot and probable bloodshed,) must have belonged to the more educated classes. Such are the partizans of the new church in Rome; and we trust the noble and generous words in which the English people are thus invited to demand it, will reach the ears of the Sovereign Pontiff; and show him, on what Christian terms the petition is advanced. It is not usual in the successors of the Apostles to yield to intimidation.

But we should like to know what view would be taken of similar conduct in Rome. Suppose some noble Lord were to announce, in his place, that Rome was inscribed all over, not perhaps in chalk, but in more appropriate charcoal,

(" *Illā quidem creta, sed et hæc carbone notasti,*")

with coarse invitations to the Roman people, Trasteverini included, to proceed at once to the burning down of the granary without the walls, as being "a —" (we must suppress the epithet here as we have above) "heretical

preaching shop;" let another Right Rev. Lord arise and add, that evidently these inscriptions had been written by persons of a better class, and certainly with the connivance of the police:* would not that be considered sufficient ground for appealing to the ready energies of the Secretary for Foreign affairs? And would not Mr. Petre, or Mr. Freeborn, or Mr. any one else at hand, be forthwith instructed, to apply for the immediate cessation of such insulting and provocative annoyance of Her Majesty's subjects?

But *sixthly*, we must not overlook another consideration, which a friend has suggested to us. Suppose a conventicle or chapel were set up in England, wherein, on principle, the Sovereign was represented as one marked by God for vengeance, and whom it was everybody's duty to pluck down from the throne, and to annihilate utterly; would it be thought very hard, that such a religion should not be encouraged to show itself more publicly, and obtain currency among the people? Now English protestantism, even in its established form, with some exceptions perhaps, considers it its duty to denounce the "Sovereign of the States of the Church," as Antichrist, as the man of sin, as one whom God will destroy with the breath of his mouth. It will be said that all this applies only to his religious or ecclesiastical character, not to his civil or temporary capacity. But it does so happen, that *de facto*, at least, the two characters are united in one man, and whatever injury he suffers in one, is perfectly communicated to the other. No sovereign could admit of such distinctions in treason. It may be well enough to confine to a chapel without the gates, the ravings of fanatics, who have actually there preached against the Pope, as being all that we have described. But really to expect, that he will graciously sanction the public erection of a highly-adorned chapel, externally as well as internally, in the middle of his metropolis, that so his subjects may be better invited and allured to enter,

* The inscriptions, which, for nearly a year, have bedaubed the wall of Her Majesty's garden, towards Grosvenor place, are so carefully and largely written, that a person in the police has declared, it would have been impossible to paint them there, without the connivance, at least, of the policeman on duty.

and hear him described, and that on principle, as an usurper of God's place, and a power which all good christians ought to pull down, is reckoning, if not too much on the meekness of the Christian prelate, a great deal too much on the sagacity and common sense of the temporal Prince.

We have carefully refrained from theology in our remarks, and from any consideration of general principles on toleration. We have dealt merely with the case before us, as a striking illustration of the immorality of the late penal legislation. We have endeavoured to show, how this question of the new chapel in Rome, which has arisen as an episode from it, and remains as a lighted smouldering coal, kept to rekindle religious animosities next session, is based upon a deliberate falsehood and fiction, about a fancied papal Cathedral, about, by order, to be built in London. And then we have exposed the fallacies by which a ground of reciprocity is sought to be established, for demanding a protestant chapel in Rome. This ground we have shown to be nugatory.

Immorality will necessarily result from abandonment of principle: and inconsistency is generally such a dereliction. When, to carry a measure, which gratifies either a party feeling, or a personal passion, the maxims of a previous life are contradicted, the aid of those who, on that very subject have been professed antagonists, is sought, and even secured by concessions beyond the first dictates of conscience, and old friends are discarded, deceived, and betrayed; it is impossible that the legislation thence resulting, should not bear the stain of its birth, and appear before the world, an evidence of unsound ethics. How the legislation of last session has carried us back, through twenty years, to the days when brilliant wit and biting sarcasm flashed from the pen of Moore! Languishing now, under the kind patronage of one, whose share in the late measure, every Catholic deplures, as a departure from long-tried fidelity to a good cause, the bard little knows, how truly he then prophesied of his friends, when he placed Ireland, as a patient between Dr. Whig and Dr. Tory; and made the first a pupil to the second, in the art of coercion. Thus the latter speaks:

“Coerce, Sir, coerce,
You're a juvenile performer, but once you begin,

You can't think how fast you may train your hand in :
 And [*smiling*] who knows but old Tory may take to the shelf,
 With the comfort that, while he retires on his pelf,
 He's succeeded by one just as bad as himself ?
Dr. Whig [*looking flattered*].—Why to tell you the truth, I've a
 small matter here,
 Which you helped me to make for my patient last year.

Dr. Tory [*embracing him.*] Oh, charming !—My dear *Dr. Whig*,
 you're a treasure,
 Next to torturing *myself*, to help *you* is a pleasure.
 [*Assisting Dr. Whig.*]"

Another nobleman had declared, not long before the meeting of Parliament, that he envied the state of religious freedom in the United States : yet he was to be found in the Government majorities in favour of the penal Bill. Of a third, let Lord Monteaule speak.

"Is our Church so safe, so popular, and so defensible, as to justify parliament in exposing it to new dangers and increased obloquy? This too, at a period when one of the Cabinet, the Earl Grey, has repeated his adhesion to his former and extreme opinions, and has exhibited an unexampled contrast between the renewed recommendation to give the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland seats in the House of Lords, and the measure defended by the very same statesman, which applies severe penalties to the episcopal functions exercised by those Roman Catholic prelates for 300 years. If the *Johannisberg de Cabinet* be the beverage for foreign statesmen, it seems evident that the *liqueur de contradiction* is most popular in Downing Street. Constantia, it must be confessed, has been in our times wholly abandoned." p. 23.

It is quite impossible that such departures from principle can publicly be made, without public morality suffering. There can be no respect for legislation, especially of an odious character, which every one sees was proposed with passion, supported by fanaticism, and carried without conviction.

On the other hand we can look back on the conduct of Catholics, through all the late crisis, with unmingled satisfaction, and even pride. When this number of our *Review* appears, it will be just one year since the Letter Apostolic was issued, (Sept. 29, 1850,) and we defy our adversaries to point out one authorised departure from principles of honour, justice, morality, or sound religion, in the line

which we have followed, during this trying period. The firmness and calm exhibited by the entire body are the best vindication of their motives, and the surest confutation of all the violent and absurd charges made against them. Had they quailed and shrunk, it might now be argued, that they had been foiled and disappointed. Had they divided into parties, it might have been concluded, that they had taken contradictory views on the measure, from the beginning. Instead of either, never was greater firmness, or greater unanimity exhibited. If the clamour of the recess produced so good an effect, the fury of the session was calculated to confirm it. For the Government took the surest way of binding Catholics together, by attacking principally those whom they most naturally revere. To have aimed the blow at the Bishops of the Catholic Church, Ireland included, was the best plan for rallying round their pastors, their affectionate flocks. "I will strike the Shepherd," it was solemnly said of old, "and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed." This is when God smites: but when feeble man takes up the sword of persecution, it is the contrary. "Strike the Shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will gather closer together."

Since the above was written two remarkable documents on our subject, have been published, by the *Morning Chronicle* of Sept. 19. They consist of an address to Lord Palmerston from the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," and his Lordship's reply. They are as follows.

"Unto the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State,

"The Memorial of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,

"Humbly Showeth,—That your memorialists are sincerely thankful to Almighty God, the source of all power and blessing, for the extensive and commanding influence which our most gracious Sovereign possesses among the nations of the earth, and for the exercise of that influence in procuring the relief of the oppressed, and advancing the cause of liberty.

"That your memorialists have been grieved to observe that, while the adherents of the Pope of Rome in these kingdoms have the utmost freedom and liberty of conscience, and that, while their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects lay claim to great liberality of sentiment, and are guaranteed and secured in all the rights of

private judgment and religious worship, that, in *Roman Catholic countries, and especially in the Papal States, in Naples, and in Austria, no real toleration is allowed; while heavy penalties—such as imprisonment, confiscation of property, and banishment—are inflicted for the alleged crime of reading God's holy Word, attending prayer meetings, venturing to call in question the errors of the Church of Rome, or abjuring a faith which they believe to be false for one they have found to be true.*

“That your memorialists have had their attention very specially directed to a recent violation of the great principles of liberty and toleration, in the case of a Tuscan nobleman, Count Guicciardini, who, for the offences of seeking the knowledge of God at the pure fountain of His Word, and endeavouring to strengthen and develope the principles of piety, by Christian fellowship and communion, has been treated like a felon, thrown into a dungeon, and then driven into banishment; and deeply affected by this outrage on reason and Christianity, your memorialists earnestly plead that you would interpose your influence with foreign Powers to secure liberty of conscience throughout their dominions, and to have the same rights granted to Christians, in Florence and elsewhere, that are so largely enjoyed by Roman Catholics in this Protestant empire.

“And your memorialists will ever pray.

“Signed in the name and on the behalf of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, at its annual meeting, held in Belfast, the 12th day of July, 1851,

“JOHN COULTER, D.D., Moderator,

“THOMAS M. REID, A.M., Senior Clerk.

“ROBERT PARK, A.M., Junior Clerk.”

(Reply.)

“Foreign-office, Aug. 20, 1851.

“Sir,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the petition of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, transmitted by you, and requesting that Her Majesty's Government would interpose their influence in order to obtain liberty of conscience for Christians in Rome, Naples, and other foreign countries.

“I am to say, that Her Majesty's Government are deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth and justice of the principles laid down in this petition, and Her Majesty's Government have not omitted, and will not omit, to avail themselves of every proper opportunity of urging those principles on other Governments, as far as may be consistent with a due regard for inter-

national independence, and with any prospect of obtaining a useful result.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"H. W. ADDINGTON.

"The Rev. Robert Park, A.M., Clerk of
General Assembly, Ballymoney."

From the Presbyterian Address, it is clear that the aim of the new Anglo-Roman movement is, not the greater comfort of British subjects, but the diffusion of protestantism among Catholics in Italy. The answer which bears the impress of the source whence it emanates, at least admits a slight regard for the maxim, that any negotiation must begin, by proposing the adoption of new principles—those of England, in religion, and in all else, being assumed to be right.

Her Majesty's Government, and Lord Palmerston especially, well knows, that in Sweden, the position of Catholics is quite as bad as that of protestants in Rome or Naples. With the exception of a chapel at Stockholm, no place of Catholic worship is allowed to be erected in the country. No Catholic is admissible to any employment whatever. If any Swede becomes a Catholic, the penalty (enforced a few years ago) is banishment, and, we believe, confiscation. Will any one memorialise Lord Palmerston, as the Presbyterians have done, and ask him to use the influence of the British name, with this protestant State, and obtain for the poor Catholics in it, liberty of conscience, and fulness of toleration? Much of the language of the presbyterian memorial could be adopted. But what would be most interesting to know is, whether in naming "*Rome, Naples, and other countries,*" as the scenes of his diplomatic labours in favour of religious toleration, the Rt. Hon., Secretary of State for foreign affairs, meant to include Sweden in his extensive generality: in other words, whether he is as active in claiming that boon, where the sufferers are Catholic, and the dominant power protestant, as he has been where the tables are turned. If not, has it been a matter of principle, or of party?

SUMMARY NOTICES OF FOREIGN CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

French Catholic Publications.

WE resume, in the following pages, our summary notices of the current Catholic Literature of France, a portion of which appeared in our April number. Owing to the long arrear which had accumulated, and which we hope to wipe off at intervals, these notices are still, of necessity, exceedingly brief. Nevertheless, they are intended, in all cases, to convey such a description of the general character, contents, and merit, of each work, as may, at least, serve to guide the selection of purchasers and students.

For more detailed accounts of many of the works here noticed, we would refer our readers to the accurate and learned Bibliographical Journal of the Abbés Des Billiers and Duplessy, to which we ourselves owe many obligations.

We have thought it advisable to append to the series of notices a catalogue of new books, which it was impossible to describe in detail.

THEOLOGY, ASCETICISM, ESSAYS, LITURGY, &c.

- (1).—*Defense du Christianisme Historique*, par l'Abbe CHASSAY, Professeur de Philosophie au seminaire de Bayeux, 2 vols. 12mo. f. 7.15. Sagnier and Bray.

Our readers may recollect a work published some time since, by M. Chassay, under the title of "Le Christe et l'Evangile." The present publication is an enlarged and remodelled edition of that excellent essay. It is a defence of the historical evidences of Christianity, against the attacks of the German school of Philosophy. The author has made the theories of the German Philosophy his peculiar study, and his success is sufficiently attested by his valuable work on Strauss. The present treatise is divided into three books; the first exhibits the state of affairs in Germany with regard to Religion and Philosophy during the eighteenth century; the second, the subsequent developments of the principles then originated; the third is taken up with a refutation of the mythic system. The author has succeeded in treating with clearness and precision the vague doctrines he had to deal with.

- (2.)—*Ceremoniel selon le Rit Romain*, par J. BALDESCHI, traduit de l'Italien et complété par M. l'Abbe Fausel, 1 vol. 12mo, f. 3,50. Lecoffre.

In the first edition of this work, the usages of the diocese of Langres were mixed up with the pure Roman rite, a thing which rendered the book very unsafe as a guide. From the present edition every local peculiarity is banished, and the Roman ceremonial is accurately copied. Large additions, founded chiefly on recent decisions of the Congregation of rites, have been made to Baldeschi's original work. These are incorporated with the text, but are distinguished from it by brackets. It is one of the most perfect books in its department.

- (3.)—*Institutions Liturgiques*, par JEAN FORNICI, Chanoine; traduites et enrichies de notes, par M. Boissonnet. 1 vol. 18mo. f. 2.50. Mequignon.

Institutiones Liturgicæ, &c., Demichelis.

This treatise was written at the request of Cardinal Turla, to serve as a class book in the Roman Seminary, where he established a chair of sacred rites. The work is divided into four parts; the mass—the divine office—the sacraments—benedictions, &c. We are at a loss to know what suggested the idea of translating such a book into French. Demichelis's edition gives the original text, and is furnished with a number of very useful notes, some of them containing recent decisions of importance.

- (4.)—*Dictionnaire de Theologie, Dogmatique, Liturgique, Canonique, et Disciplinaire*, par BERGIER, 4 vols. 4to. Migne.

The value of Bergier's Theological Dictionary has long been gratefully recognized. This edition of it has been prepared by M. l'Abbe Pierrotz, Professor of theology in the seminary of Verdun. He has added new articles on subjects omitted by Bergier, some of which indeed have been made matter of controversy since his time. He has also pressed into service recent scientific discoveries, relations of travels, and the fruits of hermacutical research. The additions of M. Pierrot are marked by brackets. Some notes are appended correcting opinions disapproved of by the Holy See.

- (5.)—*Reponses Courtes et Familieres aux Objectiones les plus repandues contre la Religion*, par M. l'Abbe de Segur, fourth edition, f. 0.35. Lecoffre.

If rapid sale be a proof of merit in a book, this book possesses it, for no less than 25,000 copies were sold within four months. It is really a most useful book for circulation. Every chapter is headed with a common saying constantly in the mouth of the scoffers of

religion, such as the priests are minding their own trade, &c., and the chapter contains a plain and concise answer to the objection.

- (6.)—*Perseverance Chretienne, ou Moyens d'Assurer les fruits de la premiere Communion*, par le Directeur de Catechismes de St. Sulpice. 1 vol. 12mo, f. 2. Lecoffre.
- (7.)—*Cours d'instruction Religieuse a l'usage des Catechismes de Perseverance*, par le MEME, 2 vols. 12mo., f. 4. Lecoffre.

The latter work is a sort of Christian Philosophy, destined for the use of young men receiving their education in the colleges, &c. It is written in a style adapted to cultivated minds. It consists of a clear exposition of the grounds of the Catholic faith and its principal dogmas; and the difficulties usually to be met with are fully stated and well answered. The author promises similar works on morals and liturgy.

- (8.)—*Theologie a l'usage des Gens du Monde*, par M. CHARLES SAINTE FOI, 3 vols. 12mo. Pouielgue.

A great many works of this kind have been published in later years. Their common object is to provide for those who have forgotten the truths of religion which they learned in their childhood, and whose present indifference proceeds chiefly from ignorance, a want of information full and precise, concerning the dogmas of the Christian doctrine, and the grounds of Christian belief, conveyed in language suited to persons of education. M. Sainte Foi has adopted a system which has at least the merit of being novel. His three volumes contain a complete set of Theological treatises, modelled exactly on those read in the schools by divinity students. We have a treatise on Religion, a Church treatise, a treatise on the Incarnation, Sacraments, &c. The work is compiled from the writings of St. Thomas, and the theology of Cardinal Gousset. It is written in a simple and lucid style, the doctrine is accurately stated, and the arguments are forcibly put. The book has received the approbation of Cardinal Gousset.

- (9.)—*Histoire de la Revelation*, par M. l'ABBE BENARD, ancien Chef d'Institution—Ancien Testament, vol. 1 and 2;—Nouveau Testament, vol 3, f. 6. Sagnier et Bray.

This is a history of the Old and New Testament, with which is incorporated a commentary on the most important passages of the Scripture. The author has, however, fallen into a fault but too common amongst those who have not made the theology of the schools their peculiar study. He puts forward as almost *de fide*, many propositions, which, to say the least, are doubtful, and many explanations of Scripture texts as unquestionable, while he has against him the great body of commentators. He states every

thing as certain. Many of his propositions too are entirely false. This is to be lamented, for the plan of the book is excellent, and in many places well carried out.

- (10) *Nouvelle Explication du Catechisme de Rodez, divisée en Instructions, pouvant servir de prones, &c.*, par M. L'ABBE NOEL, Chanoine hon. &c. 7 vols. 12, f. 28. Pensic.

The exposition of Catholic doctrine is accurate and abundant. The matter for sermons and pastoral instructions is eminently practical, and the style is simple but yet noble, and full of unction. It is a very useful book for a priest charged with the care of souls. The Bishops of Rodez and Mende have reviewed the book, and bestowed upon it the highest eulogy.

- (11) *Catechisme de la Foi et des Mœurs Chrétiens*, par M. DE LANTAGES, Supérieur du Séminaire, &c., Précède d'une notice sur la Vie de l'Auteur. 1 vol. 8vo., f. 3.50. Sagnier and Bray.

This little work was written 150 years ago, and had been completely forgotten, when one of the Sulpitian Community, struck by its excellence, gave a new edition of it. It is one of the best books of its size on the subject.

- (12) *Concilium Provinciæ Avenionensis Avenione habitum*, A.D., 1849. 1 vol. 4to.

Another of the late provincial councils of France. The acts of this council have just been printed. The text is divided into three parts; the first contains matters relative to the convocation &c. of the Council; the second, the canons and decrees; the third is an appendix, including documents of great importance. The whole forms a magnificent quarto volume, beautifully printed on fine paper, and with every typographical embellishment.

- (13) *Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto Concilii Tridentini, cum officiis Sanctorum usque in hanc diem concessis*, 4 vols. 12mo. Papier ordinaire f. 14, papier chine, f. 18.

The Catholic publishers of Paris have formed themselves into a society, under the direction of an ecclesiastical commission, for the issue of a new edition of the Roman Liturgy. A Breviary in large 12mo. has already appeared, printed after the last Roman edition, completed in 1848. It is very exact, and is printed in new type, rather larger than usual. Part of the edition is taken on China paper. In press are superb Missals of different sizes, some with red rubrics and some without, fully equal, if not superior, to the most beautiful of Hanicq's deservedly popular editions.

- (14) *Le Graduel Romain*, 1 vol. 12mo., f. 3. Lecoffre.

Up to this, the only Graduals and Vespers of small size to be obtained, in addition to being wretchedly printed, differed considerably from the Roman Graduals and Vespers in common use. The above-mentioned Gradual was prepared at the instance of Cardinal Gousset. It was submitted to His Holiness, who caused it to be collated with the Roman editions, and pronounced it substantially correct. A Vespers in the same style will soon appear.

- (15) *De l'unité dans les Chants Liturgiques; moyens de l'obtenir*, par le R. P. LAMBILLÔTE, S. J. 1 vol. 4to. Poussielgue Rusand.

Pere Lambillote has devoted many years to the study of the old Gregorian Music. He here explains the method of reading the ancient characters, of which he gives some specimens. Some of these representing the notation used before the time of Gui d'Arrezo, are now for the first time published.

- (16) *Glorie a Marie: Recueil de Nouveaux Cantiques dédiés a son Immaculée Conception: mis en musique a deux ou trois voix, avec accompagnement d'orgue ou de piano*, par HERMAN. 1 vol. 12mo, f. 8. Perisse.

The history of this book is curious. M. Herman, a German Jew, enjoyed a high reputation in Paris, as a pianist and composer. At the opening of the month of Mary, the organist of one of the Churches failed to attend. M. Herman was requested to take his place at the organ, and consented. During the service his heart was touched; before the end of the month he became a Catholic, and is now a monk of the Carmelite Order. In gratitude to his patroness, he composed these hymns in her honour. The poetry contains some excellent passages, and the music is worthy of Herman's well-known talents.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, ARCHEOLOGY, &c.

- (17) *Historie Religieuse Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus Composée sur des documents medits et Authentiques*, par J. CRETUREAN JOLY. 3 ed. 6 vols. 8vo., f. 28; and 6 vols. 18, f. 16. Poussielgue.

This work, besides passing through two French editions, has been three times translated into Italian, twice into Spanish, and twice into German. The third edition, which has just appeared, has undergone considerable improvement. Some errors regarding names, dates, and minute details of facts, have been corrected. The documents, and other quotations which the book contains, have been

compared with the originals, and rendered scrupulously exact. The revision has been superintended by some of the Fathers of the society. In addition to this, many new facts have been added, which tend to throw new light on important points. A large number of notes have been appended, and an alphabetical index placed at the end. An English translation is preparing for the press.

- (18) *Etudes sur la Collection des Acta Sanctorum, par les R.R., P.P., Jesuites Bollandistes*, par le R. P. Dom. Pitra, moine Benedictin. 1 vol. 8vo., f. 4,50. Lecoffre.

The title of this book marks it as one of interest, and the name of Dom. Pitra is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence. The body of the work is preceded by a learned dissertation on the various collections of sacred biography in existence before the sixteenth century. After noticing the records of the early Church, and sketching the labours of those who immediately preceded the Bollandists, Ribadeneira, Surius, Lippomanni, and others, he commences with Hubert Rosweyde, who first conceived the design of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The third chapter describes the foundation of the gigantic undertaking, and the labours of Bollandus. The fourth and fifth are taken up with an account of the travels of the Bollandists in search of materials. The seventh gives an idea of the immense correspondence which they carried on with all parts of the world. The eighth contains details concerning the manner of printing the work, correcting the press, &c. The controversies into which the fathers were drawn, and the persecution they suffered, occupy the ninth and tenth chapters. The book ends with the history of the fifty-fourth volume, published in 1847, and an account of the present condition of the Bollandist society.

- (19) *Histoire de la Revolution de Rome. Tableau Religieux Politique et Militaire des années 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850, en Italie*, par M. ALPHONSE BALLEYDIER, 2 vols. 8vo., f. 12. Au comptoir des Imprimeurs Unis.

This history of the Roman Revolution has met with great and well-merited success. It has already reached the third edition. M. Balleydier writes with all the energy and feeling of a man who is penetrated with a sense of the justice and holiness of the cause which, though a historian, he is forced to espouse. He paints in vivid colours the scenes of horror of which Rome was so long the theatre, the sufferings of the benevolent Pontiff, and the heartless ingratitude and cruelty of the Mazzini party. The book possesses all the attraction, all the interest of a powerfully written novel. Yet this does not prevent the author from detailing faithfully the important events which he has undertaken to describe. During a long stay in Italy, he had under his eye most of the documents relative to the proceedings, and learned the occurrences from the

mouths of the principal actors. He has produced a complete and faithful history of the Roman Revolution, and one which has already rendered important services to the cause of truth. We understand that an English translation of the work is being prepared.

- (20) *Le Genie de la France a diverses, époques, Recits et tableaux, offerts a la Jeunesse*, par M. CHAMPAGNAT, 1 vol. 8vo., f. 8. Lehuby.

This book is well adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. It communicates in a very pleasing form a large amount of historical information. A scholar, wandering through a forest, meets with a venerable old man, the Genius of France, who takes him up and carries him, not from place to place, but from century to century, through the ages of French history. He introduces him to the most remarkable scenes in the different periods, allows him to see and converse with the most celebrated personages, &c. The volume is beautifully got up, and is illustrated with sixteen coloured lithographs.

- (21) *Etudes Critiques sur les travaux Historiques de M. Guizot*, par M. A. GAINET.

The author convicts M. Guizot of having neglected to point out the effect of Christianity upon the morality of society, and shews the revolutionary tendency of some principles laid down by him.

- (22) *Examen critique des Doctrines Historiques de M. Augustin Thierry*, par Leon Aubineau, 12mo., Bibliotheque Nouvelle.

M. Aubineau manifests a perfect acquaintance with the history of the period, and rare sagacity in exposing the one-sided statements by which M. Thierry supports his attack on the Church, and Monarchical Government. His disquisition on Lanfranc is an admirable piece of history.

- (23) *Monographie de l'Eglise Primatiale de Bordeaux*, par Mgr. Donnet Archevêque de Bordeaux. Faye a Bordeaux.

It is astonishing with what rapid strides the study of Archeology is advancing in France. In all parts of the country, books on the subject are appearing, describing some ancient building, recounting the discovery of hidden treasures, or systematizing the mass of information already gathered. We have feuillets in the provincial journals, articles, brochures, and books of no small size. The clergy have entered warmly into the movement; indeed, they form the great body of contributors. Even the Archbishop of Bordeaux has not thought it beneath him to give a description of

his cathedral. The church of St. André was commenced in the eleventh century, and bears the stamp of almost every transition in style, during the four succeeding ages. Mgr. Donuet gives first the history of the Church, and then proceeding on these data, he describes minutely the details of the building, marking the peculiarities of each portion, and its relation to the age to which it belongs.

- (24) *Description de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, par M. BULTEAU, 1 vol. 8vo., f5. Sagnier and Bray.

The cathedral of Chartres is one of the finest in France, and richest in historical reminiscences. Three artists, employed by the government, have been engaged during the last ten years, in preparing a *monographie* of it, but as yet four plates only have appeared. M. Bulteau, less tardy than they, has made the cathedral the subject of a very interesting book. He gives a summary history of the edifice, describes the interior, exterior, monuments, statues, stained glass, &c., and gives in the end a notice of the other churches of Chartres.

- (25) *Rome Souterraine*, par M. Perret.

The publication of this magnificent work has been undertaken by the French government; they have obtained from the chamber a vote of f. 200,000 for the purpose. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the catacombs were re-discovered, or rather explored with an ardour, until then unknown. It is well known what light was thereby thrown on the early periods of Church history, and what valuable archeological treasures were exposed to view. A number of valuable works began to appear, describing the discoveries, and giving plates of the inscriptions, sculpture, paintings, &c. Bosio, after thirty years patient research, published the result of his labours in the beginning of the seventeenth century. His investigations were followed up by Boldetti, Arringhi, Marangoni, &c., and still later by D'Agincourt, Raoul Rochette, &c. Their works, though of great value, left much to be desired. Most of their engravings were small and inaccurately copied. Sometimes, indeed, they merely took a note of the objects, and sketched them afterwards from memory. Besides, the chambers which they visited were comparatively few. M. Perret, a French architect and artist, devoted the last five years to the examination of the catacombs, during which time, at vast labour and expense, he explored more than sixty, forming together a labyrinth of nearly three hundred leagues in extent. He discovered treasures of the existence of which not even a suspicion had been entertained. He made drawings of one hundred and forty-nine frescos, of which thirty-five only had been sketched by his predecessors. Amongst others, he gives those with which the well of Platonina had been

decorated in the year 365, by order of Pope Damasus. This well served for some time as the tomb of the apostles Peter and Paul, and has been now re-opened for the first time. Most of the newly-discovered paintings belong to the first and second century. Some are rude enough, but others, such as that of Moses striking the rock, exhibit traits not unworthy of the great masters of more recent times. It is curious to observe the remains of Pagan forms, preserved in some of the earliest: thus the good shepherd is sometimes represented with the crook and pipe of the classic poets. Of architectural remains we have seventy-three sheets. There are five hundred fac similes of inscriptions, representations innumerable of morcels of stained glass, lamps, vases, ornaments, &c. All these have been copied by M. Perret and his assistants, with scrupulous accuracy. The paintings were all counter-drawn, and where necessary reduced on the spot. The stone work, sculptures, &c., were all measured. The entire will be contained in 360 large folio lithographs, accompanied by a proportionate amount of letter press.

(25.)—*Manuel d'Archeologie Religieuse, Civile, et Militaire*, par M. OUDIN, 3 edition augmentii, 1 vol. 8vo., f. 4. Lecoffre.

This is an elementary book, but very complete in its way. A great deal of matter is condensed within a small compass. It contains a large number of plates.

(26.)—*Histoire de l'Abbaye de Morimond, diocese de Langres*, par l'ABBE DUBOIS. 1 vol. 8vo., f. 6, Sagnier and Bray.

The history of the abbey of Morimond is not one which interests those alone who are acquainted with its locality; Morimond exercised immense influence over the entire of Europe. It was the parent of more than 700 monasteries and convents, spread throughout France, Spain, Germany, Hungary, Poland, &c. The family of Morimond, besides cenobites, comprises military orders also. Hence its history leads us into the consideration of some of the gravest social questions relating to the Middle Ages.

M. Dubois is a man of acknowledged talent, and immense erudition; he writes in an easy style, and was in every way well fitted for the task which he set before him.

(27.)—*Annuaire general du Diocese d'Orleans, pour 1851*, 1 vol. 12mo. f. 8.50. Gatureau à Orleans.

This publication, besides the statistics of the diocese, contains historical and archeological notices regarding the parishes, churches, and monuments of Orleans. It is intended to pursue the same course every year, so that before long, a quantity of curious and valuable information will have been collected. We find in the

present number some interesting facts regarding the first revolution, gathered from the few who lived to remember its horrors.

- (28.)—*Almanack du Clergé de France, pour l'An de Grace, 1851.*
1 vol. 12mo., f. 6. Gaume.

The *Almanack du Clergé* was commenced twenty years ago, but after meeting with many difficulties was discontinued in 1844. Its publication has been resumed this year by M. Gaume. It forms a thick volume of 800 pages. It is to be regretted that it gives the names of the Dignitaries and Curés of the first class only—thus the great body of the French Clergy is omitted altogether.

- (29.)—*Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, par M. l'ABBE RECEVEUR Doyen, et Professeur de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris. 1 vol. 12mo., f. 5. Leroux.

The object of this work is to trace the effect of Christianity upon civilization and morals. The author reviews the several changes which the state of society has undergone since the Christian era, and marks the various benefits conferred by the influence of the Church. The last chapter treats of the French Revolution.

PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE, ETC.

- (30.)—*Reflexions sur mes Entretiens avec M. le Duc de la Vauguion*, par LOUIS AUGUSTE, Dauphin (Louis XVI.), précédées d'une introduction par M. de FALLoux. 1 vol. 8vo. f. 6. Ailaud.

The young Duke of Berry was confided at the end of his sixth year, to the care of the Duc de la Vauguion. This nobleman, who, in addition to talents of a high order, and consummate knowledge of the world, was imbued with a deep religious feeling, proved eminently qualified to undertake the trust committed to his charge. The young prince, being naturally of a reflective turn, studied deeply the sound principles suggested to him, and committed the result of his meditations to writing. These reflections, printed from a manuscript copy in the hand of the Comte de Provence (Louis XVIII.), are presented to the world by M. de Falloux, formerly minister of public instruction. Of their authenticity there can be no doubt. They are divided into thirty-three meditations or chapters, and treat of the duties of kings towards God, their subjects, and themselves. They exhibit an enlightened mind, and a heart filled with benevolence and solid piety. It is strange to find the Dauphin insisting so much on the necessity of firmness in princes, the want of which quality proved afterwards so fatal to him. He seemed also convinced that he possessed it, for he says

of himself, "I have sounded my heart, and searched there for the marks of that firmness which should belong to Princes—I am satisfied with the result." The introduction by M. de Falloux adds considerably to the interest of the work, it is in every way worthy of the high reputation of the ex-minister.

- (31.)—*Lettre a M. Vacherot, Directeur des etudes à l'ecole Normale*, par M. l'ABBE GRATTRY, ancien Aumonier de l'Ecole Normale, 1 vol. 8vo., f. 3. Gaume.

M. Vacherot some years ago gained a prize offered by the Institute for an Essay upon the School of Alexandria. He since extended his essay to three volumes, which he filled with gross calumnies against the Church, and scandalous attacks on the Catholic doctrine. M. Grattry, having resigned his Chaplaincy in order to act with greater freedom, analyzed and refuted in the above admirable work the doctrines of his infidel colleague.

The upshot of the matter was that M. Vacherot was dismissed by the minister of public instruction, to the great disedification of the so-called liberal party.

- (32.)—*Les Psaumes traduits en Vers Francais*, par M. GUERRIER DE DUMAST, accompagnés d'Arguments et de Notes, et mis en Regard d'un Texte Latin litteral, 3 vols. 8vo. f. 15. Vagner à Nancy.

This work consists of two parts, one a commentary, complete and faithful, upon the Psalms, extracted from our best authors; the other, a translation of the Psalter into French metre. Notwithstanding the serious obstacles which the genius of the French language presented, the author has been completely successful in rendering the figurative diction and the rich oriental colour of the original. The work has been honoured by the warm approbation of the Bishop of Nancy. The author has devoted to the undertaking his leisure hours for the last twenty years. It is singular that another person in Toulouse has completed a similar translation without being aware of the design of M. Dumast.

- (33.)—*Lettres et Opuscules Inedits du Comte Joseph de Maistre, precedées d'une notice biographique*, par son fils le COMTE RODOLPH DE MAISTRE. 2 vols. 8vo. f. 12. Vatou.

The publication of these letters, pamphlets, &c., has been hailed with delight as a valuable addition to the literature of the country. The first volume contains the private correspondence of De Maistre, during a period extending from the year 1794, to the year 1820. These letters raise the veil from his private life, and exhibit his character in its true light. We can see from them that De Maistre was far from being the savage Tertullian, the ultramontane ogre, which the disciples of Cousin and Dupin represent him to be. We

see in him an affectionate friend and brother, and an over-fond father, a conscientious defender of real liberty, and an enemy of despotism. What St. Beuve said of him is perfectly true, "la plus belle partie de sa vie est la partie cachée qu'on ne lira pas." The second volume contains a number of pamphlets and short essays, some on religious questions relative to Protestantism, the Greek Church, the State of Christianity in Europe, &c. ; others on political topics, the internal affairs of Russia, Piedmont, Savoy, &c. ; others, again, on philosophical and religious subjects.—Some of these have been published before but are no longer to be found. They are now, for the first time, collected in one volume. Some letters addressed to M. de Maistre, by M. de Bonald and other celebrities of the day, complete the collection. The whole is preceded by an introduction from the pen of Louis Veuillot, a distinguished writer and successful imitator of De Maistre.

- (34.)—*Poèmes des Bardes Bretons du 6me Siecle; traduits pour la première fois avec le texte eu regard, des notes; et une introduction,* par TH. HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUE. Renouard.

M. de la Villemarqué is a native of Brittany, and has devoted his life to the study and publication of the traditions of his native soil. He belongs to the Catholic school of writers, and has constantly endeavoured to make the result of his researches subservient to the cause of Catholic truth. He is already known to the world by his "*Essai sur l'Histoire de la Langue Bretonne*, in which he establishes the relation between the language of Brittany, and the three cognate dialects, the Irish, Erse, and Welsh. Some time since, the course of his investigations brought him into Wales. He studied the dialect of the Welsh, listened to their songs and traditions, and searched through the libraries for the remains of their old literature. The present work contains the chief result of his labours. It is principally taken up with the poems of three Bards; Taliesin, Ancurin, and Llcvarc'heun, the date of which he fixes in the sixth century. It is interesting to observe in these pieces, the truths of Christianity, mingled with, but yet overruling the traditions of the ancient Druids. We can trace the old mythology receding before the Gospel, but still leaving some of its forms remaining in the ideas of the newly converted people.

- (35) *Bibliographie des Journalistes*, par TEXIER, 1 vol. 18mo., f. 2. Pagnerre.

A great portion of this work has appeared already in a series of articles published in the *Illustration*, under the head of "*Voyage a Travers les Journaux*." It professes to sketch the history of all the daily papers circulating in Paris, to give an idea of the tendency of each, and biographical notices of the principal writers. The task is

executed with considerable ability and great fairness. It is a work of no small utility.

- (36) *Le Salut de la France*, par le P. DEBREYNE, 1 vol. 8vo., f. 2. Poussielque.

The unsettled state of French politics, and the dangers which menace society on every side, have been, of late, fertile subjects for political and politico-religious writers. Articles, and pamphlets, and books, without number, have been written on the subject, each endeavouring to point out the cause and the seat of the malady, and professing to suggest a safe and certain remedy. Pere Debreyne, with much truth, makes the source of all the evils which have fallen on France, consist in the rejection of religious sanction from the institutions of the country, and in the unchristian system pursued by the university. He proposes a plan for the organization of the Catholic party, in which, amongst other things, he suggests the fusion of the religious press into one journal, which should be the accredited organ of French Hierarchy, and the establishment of classes of *hautes etudes* for ecclesiastics.

- (37) *Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes, ou le Paganisme dans l'Education*, par L'ABBE GAUME, 1 vol. f. 4. Gaume.

A work of similar character appeared from the same author in 1836. He contends that the immorality of modern society, the spirit of revolt, the irreligious tendencies which everywhere prevail, must be traced to the lessons of pride and sensuality learned during the course of classical education. He shews that before the sixteenth century, the youth were not allowed to read pagan authors, until their minds were first formed in the Christian mould, while, since that time, it is from pagan sources they imbibe their first notions of literature, philosophy, and art, and that society consequently commenced to manifest tendencies before unknown. The author possesses erudition of no ordinary kind, and seems familiar with the principles which should guide education.

- (38) *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, par MELCHIOR DU LUC, 2 vols., 18mo. f. 4. Bibliotheque Nouvelle.

The author undertakes to explain and defend the Catholic doctrine, with regard to the relations between the power of the Roman Pontiff and that of Christian princes. He commences by investigating the origin of governments; he shews that their authority is fundamentally *de jure divino*, but merely human in its form and organization. The second book explains the nature of the power vested in the Head of the Church. The third treats of their mutual relations, and shews how and by what right the authority of the state is subordinate to that of the Church. The fourth contains a number

of arguments derived from the Scriptures, from tradition, councils, fathers, &c., and adduced in support of the conclusions advanced in the treatise. Those conclusions are asserted fearlessly enough, and will surprise many readers.

- (39) *De l'Autorité et du Respect que lui est dû*, par le R. P. CHASTEL, S.J., 1 vol. 18mo. f. 2. Sagnier et Bray.

This work touches upon the same subject. Père Chastel thinks that, to create respect for authority, the grounds and sanction of that authority should be clearly made known. He establishes a number of sound principles regarding the nature and origin of civil government, supports them by solid argument, and proves his doctrine to be in perfect conformity with that of St. Thomas, and the other great masters of theology. It is one of the best books written on the subject.

- (40) *L'Ethique de Spinoza*, par LEON DE MONTBELLARD. Joubert.

Although almost everything which this book contains has been said over again in our classic treatises on philosophy, it is calculated to effect some good. Many young men tainted with the prevailing pantheistic doctrine, will be tempted to read it, and will find not only the system of Spinoza successfully combated, but also the many theories upon it, which have since sprung from its principles. The work is written in a clear and vigorous style, and can be easily understood even by those who have not made metaphysics their study.

- (41) *Causeries du Soir*, par ALPHONSE DE MILLY, 1 vol., 8vo., f. 7. Perisse.

M. de Milly is the author of a "Revue Analytique et critique des Romans Contemporains," a work invaluable to those who are entrusted with the care of youth, and who have neither time nor inclination to read such books. The author, aware that, particularly amongst females, irreligion proceeds oftener from ignorance than from anything else, thought it would be well if the truths of the gospel were presented to such persons in an attractive form, so as to be readable even by the readers of novels. As a medium for conveying such information, he has chosen, in the present work, a series of dialogues between a young lady abandoned by her husband, and an old relative of her father's, in whose house she has taken refuge. The work has received from the Bishop of Bayeux an *imprimatur*, accompanied by a strong recommendation.

- (42) *Le Conseiller de la Jeunesse*, par M. LESUME, 1 vol., 12mo. f. 1.50. Perisse.

A sea captain returning to his home in Harfleur, after many

years of sea life, and finding his children neglected, sets about to educate them himself. The book contains a number of dialogues between the old captain and his children, and conveys a great deal of solid information in a very pleasing form.

- (43) *La Lyre des petits Enfants*, par A. CORDIER, 1 vol., 12mo. Reboux a Lille.

A collection of very charming poems. Although intended for children, some of them are so exquisitely beautiful, and breathe such a spirit of true poetry, as to be read with pleasure by all. "*Les deux petits Dauphins de France*," a short poem on the two sons of Charles VI., poisoned by their uncles, is not unworthy of Lamartine.

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- Pascal; sa Vie et son Caractere, ses Ecrits et son Genie, par le Meme, 2 vols. 8vo. f. 10. Derobry.
- Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme, par Auguste Nicholas, Juge de payx, 7 ed, Approuvée, par R. P. Lacordaire, 4 vols. 8vo., f. 12. Vaton.
- L'Italie Rouge, par le Vicomte d'Arincourt, 7 ed. revue Corrigee et considerablement augmentee, 1 vol. 18mo. f. 3. Allovard.
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- Retour de Pie Neuf a Rome; Poeme Mentionné, par l'Academie des Jeux Floraux, par Louis Colin, 1 vol. 8vo. Carette-Boudessein.
- Commentaire sur la loi d'enseignement, du 15 May, 1850. Publie par la Comité de l'Enseignement, livre sous la presidence de M. le Comte Molé, 1 vol. 18mo., f. 2.50. Lecoffre.
- Ouvres de l'Abbé Gourdon, precedés d'une notice sur sa vie. Tome 2, 8vo. Cosnier a Angers.
- Rome en 1848, 1849, 1851, Correspondance d'un Officier Français de l'Armée Expeditionnaire d'Italie, publiee par l'Abbe Boulange, 2 vols. 8vo., Barbon a Limoges.
- Chants Chretiens; L'Eternel est mon Cantique, Psaume cxviii. 14. 1 vol. 18mo. Ducloux.
- Philosophie Fondamentale, par Jacques Balmes Traduite, &c., 3 vols. 8vo., f. 15, et 3 vols. 1mo., f. 10. Vaton.
- Le Protestantisme Comparé au Catholicisme, par Jacques Balmes, traduite &c., avec une introduction, par A. de Blanche Raffin. 2 ed. ornee d'un beau Portrait, 3 vols. 18mo., f. 10. Vaton.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*A true account of the Hungarian Revolution, its Purposes and Pretences.* By an AMERICAN DEMOCRAT. With preliminary observations respecting the Liberals abroad, and the Liberal Party at home. By WILLIAM BERNARD MACCABE, Author of "A Catholic History of England." London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1851.

In America, as in England, the current of what is called "liberal" opinion, ran strongly in favour of the Hungarian party in their struggle with Austria, in the late Revolution. An able and well informed writer in the *New York Courier*, undertook to combat the view so commonly entertained, and to shew that however specious its pretences and professions might be, the Hungarian quarrel was not one "with which the Americans, *as Republicans*, were called on to sympathize." The essay of this writer is reprinted by Mr. MacCabe in the above interesting pamphlet: but as it was addressed to Americans, and bears exclusive reference to the principles of the American constitution, the Editor has prefixed to it a long and elaborate introduction, addressed directly to the people of these countries, and especially to the Catholic portion of the population.

As there is no subject on which so large an amount of misunderstanding exists, we cannot too strongly recommend the careful study of both parts of this pamphlet. The second part abounds with minute and accurate information as to the constitution, laws, usages, population and social condition of this most extraordinary kingdom, and places before the reader in a fair and dispassionate review, the true grounds of the original decree of resistance. The introduction, besides supplying much additional information on Austrian affairs, will be found to contain a very curious contrast between the principles which the "Liberals of England" apply to the consideration of foreign affairs, and those upon which they act in the administration of affairs at home.

- II.—*Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland.* By the FOUR MASTERS. From the earliest period to the year 1616. Edited from MSS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Copious Notes. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq., M. R. I. A., Barrister at Law. Royal 4to. Vols. i. and ii. with the General Index. (completing the work.) Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1851.

WE hasten to offer to Mr. Donovan our warmest thanks, and to the Irish public our heartiest congratulations, on the happy completion of this important and arduous undertaking. As an example of private literary enterprise, it carries us back to the days of the old Benedictines; and when we recollect the inauspicious years through which it has been carried on, and the utter prostration of the country, national, literary, social, and commercial, which it was doomed to encounter, the perseverance, energy, and spirit with which it has been brought to a close, command our highest admiration. In France, in Austria, in Belgium, in Prussia, anywhere except in Ireland, a work so purely national as the Annals of the Four Masters, would have been a public, and not a private undertaking.

The two massive volumes before us complete this historical compilation, the great repository of authentic Irish History. Mr. O'Donovan's original intention comprehended only that portion of the Annals (since the English Invasion,) the Irish text of which had not been published by Dr. O'Connor as his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*; and, in accordance with this view, the Post-Invasion Annals, as our readers will recollect, were published in three massive quarto volumes, in the year 1848. But this publication, costly, and we take shame to ourselves in saying, unremunerating as it was, was far from exhausting the enterprise of Mr. O'Donovan's publishers, to whom our national literature was already so largely indebted. Almost immediately after its appearance, proposals were taken for the publication of the earlier portion of the Annals, together with a most copious and elaborate Index of the entire; and notwithstanding the many and unprecedented difficulties which the circumstances of the times have thrown in the way of its progress, the success of the present undertaking has fully sustained the high reputation of the earlier portion of the work.

The Irish text of the Ante-Invasion Annals, had been published with a Latin translation, as is well known, in

the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*; and it was this circumstance which led to Mr. O'Donovan's original intention of contenting himself with the second and unpublished portion of the text. But even if the exceeding variety of Dr. O'Connor's work had not rendered it all but inaccessible to private individuals, there were many things which tended to make it incomplete and unsatisfactory, even as a supplement to Mr. O'Donovan's publication. The text is printed not in the Irish, but in the Italian character. It is full of the contractions and contracted orthography of the original MS. Many of these contractions have been erroneously interpreted by the editor; and many of his conjectural emendations, upon other grounds, are baseless and untenable; and, indeed, are sometimes adopted for the very purpose of bearing out or developing those peculiar opinions upon Irish ethnology which Dr. O'Connor is known to have entertained. And in addition to all these motives for desiring a new edition of the text of the Ante-English Annals, there was the capital and crowning motive, that without this portion of the work, Mr. O'Donovan's three volumes, invaluable as they are for their own sake, could, nevertheless, only be regarded in the light of a fragment, although the larger fragment, of the entire.

To those who are acquainted with the volumes already published, it would be idle to offer a word in commendation of Mr. O'Donovan's present performance. The same simple accuracy of translation, the same minute and elaborate criticism, the same variety and copiousness of illustration, the same wonderful familiarity with all the sources, manuscript as well as printed, of Irish literature, which have distinguished all the earlier works of the editor, are discoverable in every page of the present volumes; and, indeed, it is easy to observe that the studies and researches which were devoted to the earlier portion of the work have materially facilitated the present publication, and have contributed to impart an uniform and luminous character to the whole.

But the addition of the copious and elaborate Index has done more than all the rest to enhance the value of the work, and, indeed, to change its character. Heretofore, the Annals of the Four Masters was a mere, and, indeed, a meagre, text-book of the events of Irish History. Mr. O'Donovan's Index has converted it into a complete

cyclopædia of Irish Historical and Archæological literature. There is not a subject in the entire range of Irish Archæology,—whether literary, historical, ethnological, biographical, critical, genealogical, or above all, topographical, which Mr. O'Donovan has not, we may safely say, exhausted in his elaborate annotations; and the treasures of information thus lavishly dispersed over the volumes, are made as accessible as though they were arranged in alphabetical order, by the two-fold index appended to the second volume. Indeed, we do not hesitate to say, that to the practical usefulness of the volumes already published, this magnificent index (which extends to above eight hundred columns,) is absolutely indispensable.

Of its typographical beauty and excellence it is impossible to speak too highly. It is worthy of the press from which it emanates; and it is only necessary to add, that in order to suit the convenience of the purchasers of the former work, the fullest provision has been made by a copious supply of new title pages, cancels, &c., not only for a new arrangement of the work in seven volumes, but also if the purchaser should desire, in the five volumes contemplated in the original distribution.

III.—*Higher Paths in Spiritual Life*; being a Retreat for Religious—*from the French of PERE NEPVEN*. Translated by one of the Community of the Holy Child Jesus. London: Richardson and Son, 1851.

It belongs not to us even to commend a work of this description;—the very essence of spiritual instruction, written for our Fathers and Masters in the Faith, by one of themselves. We consider with reverence the exalted spirituality of the precepts, and rejoice in this new evidence of the holiness of the Church, and of her teaching.

IV.—*The Gentleman in Debt*. By WILLIAM O'NEILL DAUNT, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Newby, 1851.

"*The Gentleman in Debt*" is a spirited tale of Irish life in the latter half of the past century. The subject, in some respects, possesses but little novelty. The social anomalies and extravagancies of Irish life have been but too frequently described, often with the sole view of exciting the mirth, or perhaps pandering to the prejudices of the public for whom the sketch was intended. But Mr.

Daunt has made his tale subserve a better purpose—the practical illustration of the social, political, and religious working of the penal laws in Ireland, even in the modified form in which we find them at that period of our history. It is a powerful, but we need scarcely add, by no means pleasing lesson in our national history. There is not one of the various classes in Irish society such as it then existed, of which we do not find one or more representatives; and although the plot is not without some improbabilities, it is vigorously and entirely sustained. The character of the Rev. Julius Blake, although it may seem unnatural, is hardly overdrawn; and, unhappily, there are but too many families whose domestic annals will present a pendant for the sketch of the O'Carroll. In a few generations more these pictures and their accompaniments, will be known but as myths in our social history.

V.—*A Short Catechism of English History, Ecclesiastical and Civil, for Children*; by the REV. T. FLANAGAN. London: Richardson and Son.

An excellent abridgement of the leading facts of English History. Clear, truthful, and Catholic views are given upon each point, in a style likely to interest a Child's curiosity to search further.

VI.—*The Irish Land Question. With Practical Plans for an Improved Land Tenure, and a new Land System.* By VINCENT SCULLY, Esq., Q. C. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1851.

If the complicated difficulties which beset this most embarrassing question are to be dealt with as literary or legal problems at all, it is in the spirit and tone of this able publication. Mr. Scully, like almost all who have read or thought deeply upon the subject, has felt the necessity of doing something more than pointing out and denouncing the evils of the present system. In every revolution, no matter what its character, whether social, political, or religious, there are two phases, the destructive and the re-constructive; and the fatal experience of almost all such changes has taught the danger of entering upon the first without having calmly and dispassionately calculated the resources and the capacity which we possess for the second. Mr. Scully's essay mainly addresses itself to this important view of the Land Question. It is learned, able, calm, and

dispassionate. The details of his plan are too comprehensive for examination here; but although it may not be complete in every particular, and, probably, will fail fully to satisfy either of the two great interests between which it proposes to mediate, yet it is unquestionably deserving of the careful and favourable consideration of both. We cannot but regard it as a happy and auspicious omen, that such men and in such a spirit have begun to address themselves seriously to the practical examination of the subject.

VII.—*Treatise of Pope Benedict XIV., on Heroic Virtue.* Vol. 2. London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1851.

The Fathers of the Oratory, as our readers know, are still engaged in the good work of bringing out their series of "the Saints and Servants of God," a biography of those devout men and women whose names Holy Church has formally canonized. The treatise which we have mentioned above is not, strictly speaking, a biography—but still it is a most valuable adjunct to the lives which have appeared: giving as it were the key note of the whole biographical series, and explaining the principle on which the formal process of canonization takes place in the Catholic Church. It is a portion of the well known standard work of Pope Benedict XIV. on canonization. One volume has already appeared, and a second we now cordially welcome. Protestants in general, and perhaps even not a few Catholics, are little acquainted with the diligent and searching process to which every name is subjected at Rome before it can be beatified or canonized. It is enough to say here, that no man or woman, however holy, can be enrolled among the Saints of God, except after death his or her name has first passed through two separate stages of examination, distinct in point of time. There is at Rome a regular Court, called the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in which the character and deeds of all such individuals are strictly canvassed; and where it is necessary to establish, by most indisputable proofs, that the departed has worked certain miracles, and has habitually shown forth in his own person, *the heroic or supernatural life*. This enquiry is not confined to the question as to whether he has exhibited the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, and the cardinal virtues also in an heroic degree, but it enters

most minutely into the details of his life and death. The first of the two volumes of Pope Benedict is mainly occupied with the definition of heroic virtue, and with the theological and cardinal virtues, and furnishes tests whereby the existence of these virtues in each individual must be judged: the second, to which our present remarks are more especially intended to refer, is more confined to details. The matters of which it treats are, first, "*the trials and tribulations of the servants of God, which are to be enquired into when the causes of their beatification and canonization are under discussion*;" and afterwards it speaks of the matters to be specially observed in the causes of those who severally have been Popes, or Cardinals, Bishops, Ecclesiastics, or ordinary laymen, virgins, married persons, or widows. In each case our readers should know that these separate questions have to be entertained, sifted, and decided, by the "consultors of the congregation," and by the officer at their head, who is called the "Promoter of the Faith," before the sentence can be finally delivered, and the name submitted in solemn Consistory or Council of the Cardinals, to His Holiness, as the Vicar of Christ, for Beatification or Canonization, as the case may be. To state the lowest ground, a general acquaintance with such facts as these is necessary in order to silence the objections of Protestants, accustomed as they are to exclaim against the saints of old, as men who lived holy lives indeed, but who, if they differed from their neighbours at all, differed only in degree. And the perusal of this admirable treatise will tend to satisfy such persons, we trust, that no one has been or can be canonized in the Church, without having actually earned his reward as a true servant of God, by living a supernatural life with the aid of supernatural grace. But in a higher way the book will be of far greater use to the pious Catholic, as furnishing him with a theoretic standard of action, at which he ought constantly to be aiming; and supplying at the same time a vast amount of instruction as to the gifts and graces which actually have been realized by such great names as those of St. Benedict, St. Theresa, St. Malachy, and many other of the Saints and Servants of God. We can fully promise that the whole work (to use the words of the advertisement prefixed), "will be found replete with most interesting anecdotes concerning the Lives of the Saints, as well as of immense use to spiritual

directors, and to all students of ascetical theology, or Christian philosophy." A third volume will conclude the work.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to notice the publication of a biography of Father Gentili, of which we propose to publish a lengthened notice in our January number.

VIII.—*The Order of Laying the First Stone of a New Church*, according to the Roman Pontifical. London: Burns and Lambert.

As this service is not included in ordinary prayer books, this pamphlet, which might be bound up with them, or separately, will be found of great and happily of frequent utility. We are glad to see the beautiful services of the Church as much as possible brought into common use.

IX.—*Address of His Eminence the late Cardinal Archbishop of Cambrai, on Domestic Education*. London: Richardson and Son.

These four lectures, forming a series, have all the persuasive and apostolic dignity that belong to French preaching. The venerable Archbishop addresses a different society from our own; but who will read his awful reproofs and not feel compelled to ask in how far they come home to ourselves? Were we to judge from our own observation, we should say that England would rank high in respect to the care paid to her children, amongst a large class at least; but as to the nation at large, who can tell what evils exist? Who can deny one symptom at least, which the Archbishop with profound observation, considers as denoting a growing evil in society? We will give his own words.

"Why the private or public schools, always multiplying, infant schools, schools for youth, adult schools, day schools, evening schools, Sunday schools? Why these halls of refuge opened in every part for the culture of the infantine age, even to the asylums destined to receive the newly-born? Wherefore, in fine, all this eagerness, all these precautions, all these, until lately, unknown institutions? Eternal honour to the healthy part of society; as it is the eternal opprobrium of the other. Is this only progress, amelioration, improvement, as folks are pleased to say? No: it is a necessary satisfaction, given to a profound want of our age; it is an accusing remedy of the evil which is active amongst us. Do you not see

that the characters are changed and inverted, that it is in the family that society is to draw its strength; but, on the contrary, it is here that society comes and supplies the family? If Domestic education was that which it ought to be, would it ever have been necessary to substitute adoption for a maternal sentiment? A century ago, who would ever have thought of creating asylums to teach little children the elements of religion and morality, of founding institutions where they may find the nourishment and care suitable to their age? No: and why? Because, then, families were Christian. There were, doubtless, schools to perfect and complete education; but the first of schools was the paternal home. In these new acts of charitable assistance, we ought to bless, a thousand times, the generous souls that conceived and realized the thought; but there is also, for an observing mind, a frightful revelation of the sad decline of our morals."

X. — *Westminster-Memorials of the City, St. Peter's College, the Parish Churches, Palaces, Streets, and Worthies.* By the REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, M. A. Westminster: Masters, 1849.

We have looked through this book with great entertainment; it is not the mere compilation of an antiquary, but the work of a gentlemanly scholar who has entered with thorough interest into his subject: not free from bias, certainly, upon religious subjects;—that was hardly to have been expected; but not unkind or bigoted. Of course there is much contained in the work which will not be new to readers upon this subject; but the author has used too much research not to have added a great deal of valuable matter to what has been already collected.

XI.—*The Tradition of the Apostles concerning Gifts;* by SAINT HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop and Martyr. London: Richardson and Son.

We are not told who is the author of this bold attempt to popularize the works of the primitive Fathers; nor do we know whether this is an isolated instance, or if any series of such translations is intended; we can therefore only speak of what is before us, and avow that we have found great gratification in St. Hippolytus' vigorous sermon on the Epiphany, given to us in such racy English, as might have been original, and in the direct and simple injunctions of the Apostolic Constitutions. With these few words we must dismiss a publication, which, nevertheless, appears to us to deserve a more authoritative and serious notice.

XII.—*Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages.* By T. HUDSON TURNER. London: J. H. Parker.

We feel that this book deserves at our hands a more extended notice than our columns at present will conveniently admit. It is a very attractive volume in outward appearance, and enriched with a variety of well-chosen engravings, which are admirably adapted to the end of illustrating the matter of the work. But it is not merely as a book for the boudoir or drawing-room table that we would recommend it to our readers; it has far higher claims upon their attention, as embracing a very wide range of most interesting facts connected with mediæval architecture as applied to domestic purposes. The subject is one which at present has been little investigated among us, and on which, therefore, the public mind has not been generally interested; and hence, while Oxford and Cambridge have poured forth in great variety their contributions to the systematic study of Gothic architecture, *as applied to ecclesiastical buildings*,—to say nothing of lesser elementary works from Messrs. Markland, Bloxam, and others,—*the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages* has remained, for the most part, a waste and unexplored region. It is, therefore, with feelings of much satisfaction that we hail this almost the first attempt to grapple with the subject. And yet we would not be understood to imply that we consider the subject in any way exhausted, as yet at least, by Mr. Turner. Like all other authors who venture on an untrodden path, and chalk out a new line for themselves, Mr. Turner has been of necessity obliged to confine himself to an extensive collection of facts and details, which he has classified together in order of time, though he has not studied to reduce them into any very systematic shape, or to build on them a superstructure of theory. We think that he has acted wisely in confining himself *at present* to this portion of his subject; but we hope, that as time goes on, and a wider induction of particular instances supplies him with a store of additional materials, the talented author will go on to gather from them some general rules and principles, which, though they may not be directly useful to architects of the present day, will give the general reader a more complete insight into the habits and customs of our forefathers than he has hitherto acquired.

In writing thus, we must by no means be understood as in any way finding serious fault with the book of which we are speaking. It opens a new field of enquiry, and, as such, the author must be content to feel that his researches will bear to be further carried out and more completely systematized hereafter. There is indeed one point on which we should be almost disposed to quarrel with our author, were we not aware how closely the domestic and ecclesiastic life, and, by consequence, the corresponding styles of building, were interwoven in "the ages of faith;" and this is, that not having drawn very accurate limits around his subject, he has been led to introduce into the body of his work a quantity of extraneous matter, which, while we freely admit that it is most interesting to the antiquarian, at the same time seems to us calculated to overload and almost to perplex the general reader. The magnificent abbeys and priories, the palaces and deaneries, together with the hostelries and castles of "old England," are so closely connected with "Church architecture," properly so called, that we feel how difficult our author must have found it to draw an exact line where domestic architecture commences. But upon the whole, Mr. Turner has dealt, we think, very judiciously with this inherent difficulty of his subject; and we are bound to confess that the lesser defects which we have ventured to point out are far outweighed by the intrinsic merits of the work itself.

We think that from the illustrations chosen we are led to infer, that Mr. Turner has confined his researches to some special districts of Great Britain almost to the exclusion of others; and the "*Guardian*," with some show of justice, complains that many beautiful specimens of domestic architecture, with which the principality of Wales abounds, have been entirely overlooked. We think we may fairly express our regret, that, while several French specimens of domestic architecture are added in an appendix, such noble structures as Chepstow and Caerphilly castles, and especially the ancient Episcopal Palace, which still stands in roofless and desolate grandeur at St. David's, have been passed by in silence. We hope that this defect will be remedied in a future edition. Some details of several ancient residences, such as Ightham Moat and Hever castle, both in Kent, with Dartington in Devon, Layer Marney in Essex, and Berkeley Castle,

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would, we suggest, be profitably added in a future edition. From what we have said, our readers will have gathered that Mr. Turner's book is by no means a superficial work, but worthy of the attention of any antiquarian, who wishes to become acquainted with the outlines of mediæval domestic architecture in England. It would be useless affectation, in these days of advancement in all that bears upon our personal comfort and luxury, to think of returning to the middle ages for models on which to build our town or country houses; and, therefore, the utility of this branch of study becomes naturally less direct and immediate, than that of the sister branch of ecclesiastical architecture, where the same arrangements now, as then, are suited to the unchanging and unchangeable character of Christian worship, and where everything is made to subserve the one great end of the Christian sacrifice. To go back to antiquity in the one case, is as censurable, we feel, as it would be in the other to deviate unnecessarily from ancient models.

Hence, too, it will follow, that the study of domestic architecture has not a chance of engaging the attention of English readers at all, in the same degree that "Church architecture" has recently done; for the latter is the stepping stone to "Church restoration," while the former cannot lay claim to any direct practical results. And yet the subject is worthy the attention of Catholics, (and may we not add, of Protestants also?) for particular reasons. The popular notion of the present day, as to the relative grandeur and magnificence of Churches and private dwellings, to say the least, reflects but little credit upon our religious feelings. On this head, as on many others, we feel that a healthy result may be attained by those who will be at the pains to throw themselves back into the annals of bye-gone times, and to ascertain what was thought by our Catholic forefathers, during what men so complacently call "the dark ages," upon the subject of domestic architecture. From Mr. Turner's book the very least we may gather is a lesson on this head. We there find that that nobles, and even kings, in this very island of our own, were once content to dwell in a really mean and sordid style, at the very time when every ornament of colour and form was lavished upon the ecclesiastical edifices under whose shelter they lived. Thus the house of a nobleman of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, if we may trust Mr. Turner, con-

tained besides its hall and chapel, often but a single chamber, and the necessary offices. And here, too, is a second lesson. The great halls which still remain in some of those ancient structures, strike us as built upon a very gigantic scale, compared with the rest of the edifice. But we must remember that in those days an English nobleman's family consisted not merely of his children, but of his dependants and servants, and that night and day the great hall was the apartment in which they all lived together as a family. Did space permit us, we might easily enlarge upon the cause of this practice, and show that it was the result of a great truth, which was then undoubtedly received and believed, namely, *the reality of the sacred tie which binds in one family the members of Christ, high or low, rich or poor.* Men then believed that they were "one body in Christ, and all of them members one of another." And as they believed they acted. But we feel that we are wandering from our subject, and that our remarks are almost bordering upon a religious lecture; so we will content ourselves with taking our leave of Mr. Turner and his work for the present, once more strongly recommending it to the perusal of our readers, who, we feel sure, on the whole, will find upon experience that their labour bestowed upon it has not been thrown away.

XIII.—*The Child's Month of Mary*; with the approbation of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London: Richardson and Son.

The title of this little work will recommend it. The object is to render the devotion of the month of Mary, practical amongst children and in families. It is upon the same plan as the devotions already in use, and the instructions and examples are simple, pious, and in excellent taste.

XIV.—*The New Penal Law*, considered in its bearing upon Scotland; or Two Letters addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl of Arundel and Surrey. By the RIGHT REV. BISHOP GILLIS.

England and Ireland have raised their loud protest against the Penal Law with which we are afflicted. Bishop Gillis speaks for Scotland, and shews the injury it will work to the Church there, unoffending, unobtrusive as she has been. We should earnestly wish this pamphlet

in the hands of our legislators, if we had any hope from their justice ; or, indeed, in anything save the direct interposition of Providence for our relief.

XV.—*The Doctrine of the Cross* ; with various Reflections on the Passion ; the dignity of the Blessed Virgin ; the end of man ; the Religious State ; and the Priesthood ; with instruction and consolation under Temptation, &c. London : Richardson and Son.

The author of this book, who has not given his name, calls it a compilation. It is, indeed, thickly interspersed with extracts from the Holy Fathers and the Scriptures, which are interwoven with his own comments, which form admirable and affecting meditations. We have seen few works which convey in a manner so unpretending, so much excitement to devotion.

XVI.—*Fasti Christiani* ; or Rhymes on the Calendar. In six books. By W. C. AUGUSTINE MACLAURIN (Late Dean of Moray and Ross), now a member of the Catholic Church. 8vo. London ; Dolman, 1851.

The *Fasti Christiani* is intended as a help to those who desire to accommodate their private devotions to the spirit of the Church in her public and solemn services. It is an attempt to condense into a concise poetical form, the substance of the mysteries, and of the histories of the saints which are celebrated throughout the Ecclesiastical year.

On the average, about four Elegiac stanzas are devoted to each day, but in some few instances, a slight deviation from this rule may be observed. The plan is one which, as may be easily supposed, allows but little opportunity for the display of the lighter graces of poetical composition ; but there is a deep religious tone pervading its homely and solemn verses, which cannot fail to touch and to elevate the Christian heart.

We cannot better describe at once the object of the work and the general character of its execution, than by transcribing its closing lines.

“O that in the path
Of Saints we walked ; ourselves renouncing quite,
Crucified to the world, of tenderness
For others full, eager the gospel's light

To infidels to give, and thus to bless
 Mankind with truth, or in its cause to die !
 No miracles or keen austerities
 Such course can equal ; nor would nations lie
 Long in the shades of death, if verities
 Were thus maintained, *and the baptized were one.*
 Saviour divine, who pray'dst that this might be,
 And saidst the world would then believe, be done
 Thy most benevolent will ! Nor spurn from Thee
 This poor attempt the way of sanctity
 In rhymes to show !

“Reader ! thy prayers I crave
 To Him who died on the Redeeming Tree
 My soul from everlasting death to save.”

There are few, we think, who will not echo from their hearts this modest and touching prayer.

XVII.—*The Life of St. Camillus of Lellis.* Founder of the Clerks Regular, Ministers of the Sick. To which is added, Memoirs of the Ven. Ludovico Da Ponte, S. J. ; and, Memoirs of the Ven. Luigi La Nuza, S. J. London : Richardson and Son.

We are more and more struck by the value of the prodigious work undertaken by the Oratorians, and carried through with an energy, which, considering their other labours is truly astonishing. The two venerable saints whose memoirs are here given, were born in 1554, and 1591. They have not been canonized, and it is possible they never may ; and thus, but for the preservation of these authentic memoirs, we should have lost the edification which is now opened to us in them.

It is evident that these memoirs were, for the most part, written by contemporaries, or by those who lived near the time of these servants of God. There is a something of life-like biography in them ; we feel inspired with more tender devotion to those who thus become personally known to us in all the loveliness, as well as the majesty of their supernatural virtue. Of all the Catholic works now published, there are none, we think, so devotional as these.

XVIII.—*The Glory of Mary, in conformity with the word of God.* By JAMES AUGUSTINE STOTHERT, Missionary Apostolic in the Eastern District of Scotland. Dolman : London.

We have been much pleased with this little work, which appears to us to be of a description very much wanted. It

is addressed to Protestants, perhaps not of the most imaginative description: and to meet their coldness and prejudice, the Reverend Author has been at the greatest pains to draw up from probability, history, and scripture, such a chain of argument as must be almost irresistible; and he has done this with a tenderness and depth of feeling most congenial to the Catholic heart.

XIX.—*The Vision of Old Andrew the Weaver*, London: Richardson and Son.

One of the most poetical and beautiful stories that we have read, and one which, if not already known to our readers, we can warmly recommend.

XX.—*Was St. Peter ever at Rome?* The substance of two Lectures delivered in St. John's Church, Perth, by Rev. J. S. McCorry, M. Ap. London: Dolman, 1851.

We recommend these two lectures to all who have ever entertained a doubt upon the momentous point they establish. Catholics are not likely to have troubled themselves concerning a fact, long laid up in their minds, amongst the treasures of their faith, beyond the reach of speculation. But Protestants, who may have been perplexed by the arguments lately brought forward, will be glad to see the *faith* of the great majority of Christendom, and the *opinion* of the remaining portion of it, so well justified.

XXI.—*Regeneration, or Divine and Human Nature*; a Poem in six books. By GEORGE MARSTAND. London: Pickering, 1850.

Any thing more crude in thought and style than this production—we cannot call it a poem—it has seldom been our lot to meet with. It is difficult to read, impossible to understand. Did the author understand his own meaning? he tells us “he desired to produce a work that might be thought worthy to be offered up by the High Priest of error, as a propitiation to Satan.” With Satan we desire to have nothing to do, in the way of “offerings” or otherwise. But to such a harmless, fictitious personage as the High Priest of rigmarole, we should have no objection to present this book.

XXII.—*A complete description of St. George's Cathedral ; and Handbook to the Catholic Antiquities of Southwark.* With Twelve Engravings. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

St. George's is, we believe, the first Church really worthy of the name which was built in the Metropolis since the Reformation ; the most complete, if not the first revival of Gothic architecture in England ; nor are these the only circumstances which make its erection an epoch to Catholics : we would not speak of the apparently insufficient means with which it was begun, the difficulties it had to encounter, or the zeal that triumphed over them all ; these are common to all Catholic Churches : but the singular coincidence of the site on which it stands, its close connection with the first Archbishop of our new Hierarchy, the solemn manifestation of Catholic communion and sympathy given in the presence, at its dedication, of so many foreign prelates, and the interest taken in the event by our Holy Father the Pope, who presented to it a chalice of his own particular kindness—all these circumstances are peculiar ; and render St. George's remarkable beyond any Church now in England, perhaps more so than any, however splendid, which may be built hereafter. It is right, therefore, that there should be a good description of the Church and of the principal personages and facts connected with it, and such a one we have in this elegant little work. The description is complete and accurate, and the engravings good, and so numerous as to give an idea not only of the general effect of the building, but of the peculiarly beautiful embellishments for which Mr. Pugin is justly celebrated.

XXIII.—*The Mission of Sympathy*, a Poem in Four Cantos. By WILLIAM S. VILLIERS SANKEY, M.A. London : Pickering, 1850.

There is something in this poem which reminds us of older favourites ; occasionally of Cowper ; the versification is elegant and easy ; a pleasing vehicle for a train of thought which we follow with pleasure ; refined, discursive, and nicely discriminative. The illustrations of the subject are well chosen, and so as agreeably to diversify a didactic poem.

XXIV.—*Poems Legendary and Historical*, by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., and the REV. GEORGE W. COX, S.C.L. London : Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850.

This book has afforded us great pleasure. Glorious

old stories of classic and romantic times, are here given us in choice English verse, simple, strong, and spirit-stirring. The writers are men who have studied poetry at the fountain head, and they have poetry in them; in the "recollections of childhood" are passages of exquisite pathos and descriptive beauty; but we prefer upon the whole the "Legends," which have all the terse simplicity and power of the old English ballads.

XXV.—*The Lives of Father Antonio Talpa, the Ven. Father Eustachio, and Father Giambattista Prever.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

These venerable men were all disciples of St. Philip Neri, members of the congregations of the Oratories of Naples and Turin: and their lives preserved in the affectionate records, almost in the memories, of their brethren, are recounted with singular vivacity and unction. We see continually more cause to be thankful for this great undertaking of the Fathers of the Oratory: without which we should have lost the treasures of edification, contained in the lives of these uncanonized, but most illustrious saints.

XXVI.—*Spicilegium Solesmense compledens S. S. quorundam Patrum auctorumque Ecclesiasticorum, qui a primo inde sæculo ad duodecimum usque florere, anecdota hactenus opera, publici juris facta curante Domino J. B. PIBRA, O. S. B., monacho, e congregatione Gallica, nonnullis ex Abbatia Solesmensi opem conferentibus.* Tomus I.

We have already recommended the work of which this is a first volume, to the notice and the support of all those who aspire to possess a theological library. When really learned men, like Dom. Pibra, give up their time and an amount of labour and attention which very few can estimate, to collect from a great number of scattered sources the smallest remains of Christian antiquity yet inedited, the least which those who live upon the labours and self-denying zeal of others can do is to purchase their works. No Christian scholar, indeed, is there but must feel a deep debt of gratitude due from him to the monks of the Order of S. Benedict in France. Besides those matchless editions of the greater ancient Fathers which it was the labour of their lives to put forth, there are no less than six volumi-

nous collections of smaller authors made by them. First, there is the *Spicilegium* of D'Achery, then the *Analecta* of Mabillon, the *Anecdota Græca* of Montfaucon, the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* of Dom. Martene, the *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum* by Dom. Durand, and, lastly, the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, by Dom. Bernard Pez. In our own times, the very learned Cardinal Mai has added a vast collection of incalculable value: and now Dom. Pibra comes forward to glean whatever ears remain of that golden harvest. He proposes to publish ten volumes containing fragments or works of more than one hundred and fifty authors, partially or totally inedited, and ranging from the first to the twelfth century. In the first volume, besides fragments of S. Papias, S. Trenæus, and S. Dionysius of Alexandria, we notice no less than seventy pages of the writings of S. Hilary of Poitiers recovered. Collections of this sort deserve every possible encouragement, for it is impossible to say how valuable may be the yet undiscovered remains of antiquity lying hid in manuscript. This volume contains important fragments of the Council of Nice, illustrated by M. Lenormant. Had the heresiarchs of the sixteenth century been acquainted with the eastern liturgies, and known their unimpeachable antiquity, it is possible we might have been spared their blasphemous ravings against the Christian sacrifice, and the hideous apostacy which denies it. It is but a very small portion of the vast living tradition of the Christian Church which has come down to us in writing. It is difficult to *prove* to the unbeliever much of what we cherish in our inmost heart, because so many records have perished, and so much which was a matter of every day practice, was never recorded. But let us not at least neglect whatever can yet be recovered. For this reason, we bid God's speed to Dom. Pibra's new *Spicilegium*. It is printed in imperial octavo, at the very low price of ten francs a volume, and divided into two series, the first five containing the authors down to the tenth century, and the latter five the remainder. Either series may be subscribed for. We can speak of the Latin type and of the general execution of the volume in terms of warm approval. For all that the zeal and learning of an Editor can contribute to such a work, Dom. Pibra's name will be an ample guarantee to all who have the good fortune to know him.

XXVII.—*The Conversion of a Protestant Family.* Translated from the French, by V. M. London : Richardson and Son.

The *naïf* foreign style, and unpretending form of this little work, convey a most remarkable story. All conversions are wonderful ; when the secrets of each heart are laid bare, perhaps no miracles will be found to have surpassed them ; but those of which the narrative is here given, and which occurred in the little town of Quimper, seem to have been more than usually marked out by the finger of God himself, as evidences of that power which—sustaining the weak, humbling the strong—is in all cases equally omnipotent and irresistible.

XXVIII.—*Manual of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Mind,* By the REV. JAMES CARLILE, D. D., of Dublin and Parsonstown, Ireland. London : Hall, Virtue, and Co., 1851.

This work appears to us to be one of too much importance, to be noticed in so hasty a manner as want of time imposes on us. We can only say that a most important subject appears to have been treated with great research, and depth of thought.

XXIX.—*Familiar Sketches of Catholic Life,* in a series of letters from a foreign Catholic to an English Protestant. 1st Series. London : Burns and Lambert, 1851.

We believe it was in the Catholic Weekly Instructor that these delightful letters, or most of them, first appeared. They were much admired then, and we are sure that our readers will be delighted to find them collected, and, we believe, with considerable additions. Whoever has taken pleasure in reading Miss Mitford's descriptions of "Our Village," will have an idea of our authoress' style of writing and observation, and will understand how faithfully it would render the picturesque tranquillity of a Belgian village, seen in the aspect least familiar to travellers, of unexcited industrious routine ; seen by an Englishwoman, to whom its peculiarities were fresh,—by a Catholic, who had the clue to the secret life of its inhabitants, and could participate in it. And what a lovely picture does she draw of Catholicism thus *left to itself*. Not disturbed by controversy, or warped aside by Protestant feelings and usages. That fence of *daily habits* so simple, pious,

regular, the tone of innocence, the constant memory of another world! The pupils of this system seem placed, with scarce an effort of their own, upon a high vantage-ground on the road to heaven. These letters are written to old friends and dependants in England; and explanations of the Catholic religion are freely intermingled, while its effect upon the feelings and the life are practically illustrated. We know few more agreeable or more generally useful volumes.

XXX.—*The Clifton Tracts*:—Protestantism weighed in its own Balance and found Wanting.—The Bible and the Bible only.—Queen Mary and her People—the Smithfield fires.—Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.—What Catholics do when the Candles are lighted.—Our Parish Churches, as they were and as they are.—Old Stones tell tales.—The Church a Kingdom.—Holy Week.—Palm Sunday, or the Procession.—Holy Week, Maundy Thursday, or the Holy Sepulchre.—Holy Week.—Good Friday or the Adoration of the Cross.—Monks and Nuns, Counsels of perfection.—How the Pope became a King. By permission; London: Burns and Lambert. Bristol: Reader, Park Street.

These little tracts form part of a library of popular controversy now publishing by the Brothers of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; the price is so low and the matter so excellent, that we have no doubt of their doing incalculable good. There is something in the tone of these little essays, firm, cheerful, tangible—most opposite to the morbid gloomy excitement of the methodist tracts which have so long circulated amongst the intelligent of our poor, giving “the ‘errors’” as we are told by Mr. Mayhew, to such as were entrapped into reading them. Most opposite too, will be their effect if they should get into a wide circulation—an event to be greatly desired and promoted. In our next number we purpose to treat the subject at considerable length.

XXXI.—*The Whigs versus the Pope*. The Case of the Day, reported by an old Whig. London: Blackwood and Sons, 1851.

The author argues powerfully for the inherent right of men to hold their own religious opinions,—that being a point never conceded in the social compact; from this general right to toleration of opinion, he proceeds to argue for the special grounds on which Catholics might claim this right. After a scornful glance at the various mad-

nesses which from time to time have taken possession of the public mind, producing the usual effects of all such unnatural and fierce excitement, feebleness or re-action—evil deeds and their consequent remorse; he proceeds to show that they are as mad now in their rant of “No Popery,”

Condensing with much spirit the principal arguments that have been so ably urged in Parliament, to show the nature of the Act which has raised such bitter hostility in the Church by “law established,” he proceeds to characterize the measures taken against it. “Masses of lords, squires, and yeomen, allow that a noxious heresy taints the body of the Church of England. It is a Church incorporated with the State, and, therefore, the fitting object of State reformation. If the disease be admitted, why is not the remedy applied? If a Church can be constituted by Act of Parliament, it surely, through the same medium could be purified and amended. Why then assail another Church, independent of the State, pursuing its own objects in its own way, and in accordance with its doctrines and its discipline?” But “Popery is unendowed, and hence may be a fitting object of persecution; Puseyism is powerful, or linked to those who are, and cannot be touched.”

XXXII.—*The following of Christ*; in Four Books. A New Translation. London: Burns and Lambert.

We know not the author of this new translation of the Imitation, but its merits cannot be doubted, since it has obtained the sanction of the highest authority, not only in ecclesiastical matters, but in scholarship and taste—Cardinal Wiseman. The book is got up in a manner worthy the high pre-eminence it holds in every Catholic library. The engravings by which it is illustrated are charming, the type good, the embellishments highly finished, and in that excellent taste for which these publishers are so remarkable.

XXXIII.—*Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archeological Society*. Vol. 1., Part 2. Dublin: O'Daley, 1851.

The formation of local societies like that to which the above most interesting publication, is one of the best evidences of the hold which the pursuit of our National Archæology has begun to take on the public mind. The

mere act of membership of one of the two general societies—the Archæological and the Celtic—(the working of which falls chiefly on a few individuals,) in itself need imply but little practical interest in the subject. There are numberless details which the activity of auxiliary societies alone can effectively carry out; especially those connected with the special antiquities of each locality.

Of the zeal and activity of the Kilkenny Society, it is impossible to speak too favourably. The part of their proceedings now before us completes the first volume of their publications, and affords a most gratifying omen of their future success. It comprises a great variety of interesting papers, profusely and pleasingly illustrated—read at the several meetings of the Society; some of them on subjects connected with the general antiquities of the country, but the greater number, and by far the more attractive, regarding the immediate locality.

Among the latter, we would specify particularly, that on the “way-side crosses of Kilkenny,” which is full of most curious and interesting matter; and of the former, the paper on “Stained Glass in Ireland” deserves the highest commendation. It is learned, tasteful, and what is best of all, practical in a high degree.

We shall only add our usual and anxious hope, that the Kilkenny Archæological Society may prove the forerunner and the type of many such bodies in all the important cities and towns of the kingdom. Certainly the evidence which it has given of the good which may be effected with very limited resources, should be at once an example and an encouragement, even to the least enterprising.

XXXIV.—*The Emigrants, and the Affectionate Son.* London: Richardson and Son.

Two simple pretty little stories.

XXXV.—*Legends of the Commandments of God.* By. J. COLLIN DE PLANCY. Translated from the French. London: Dolman, 1851.

The idea of this work is excellent. The legends are not imaginary narratives; they are all founded on history; the dates are accurate, the characters real; and where the author introduces a tale, he presents it as such, contributing, as he tells us himself, “only the colouring, the

arrangement, and the details of the narrative." And this he has done well; the accessories are in good keeping, and the whole forms an interesting collection of the lore of the middle ages; bold in its features, picturesque in its details, highly edifying in the moral drawn, and the instances given of God's dealings with men in those "ages of faith."

XXXVI.—*Legends of the Seven Capital Sins*. By J. COLLIN DE PLANCY. Dolman: London.

This work is a continuation of the series, and has quite as great merit as its predecessor. The idea is a curious one, and it is well carried out, to shew the consequences, even in this world, of daring violations of the Commandments of God, whether in thought or action. The instances given are historical; told with the graphic simplicity of an old romance, and proving the truth of the old saying that, truth is more wonderful than fiction. The Archbishop of Paris has given his sanction to the morality of these legends, and we are sure they will be a welcome acquisition to all young people. The public are obliged to the translator who has made them more generally known; but it cannot be denied that the task of rendering them into English, has not been well fulfilled. The translator falls into such blunders, as translating "sac" into "sack," and, in general, adheres so entirely to the French idiom, as greatly to spoil the narrative to an English reader.

XXXVII.—*The Holy Scriptures; their Origin, Progress, Transmission, Corruptions, and True Character*. Dolman: London, 1850.

As there is no point upon which Protestants are more unconvincible than in the mistaken idea they entertain of the proper object and intention of the Holy Scriptures; so there is no one point of controversy upon which Catholics require to be so well informed, or so fluent. There is a parade of sanctity—of respect for God's word, which our adversaries assume upon this subject, and which is sometimes very embarrassing. It is not easy to treat arguments with as little ceremony as they deserve, when they are brought against you in the form of texts of Scripture, however little they may be to the purpose. And, moreover, Catholics are too apt to be silenced by a consciousness that upon this point *they are ignorant*: afraid from a

sense of reverence to meet their opponents with the same weapons, and sometimes unable to do so with effect, because they are in the habit of reading such portions only of Scripture as can be used for devotion. To persons who have felt this, we recommend this little work ;—it fulfils admirably what it undertakes, and contains not only valid arguments, but a collection of the evidence which may be drawn from the Holy Scriptures themselves against their own perversion.

XXXVIII.—*Groombridge's Farm and Garden Essays*. No. I., the Cultivation of Arable Land. London : Groombridge and Sons.

This promises to be a most valuable work ; it is intended to comprehend the entire circle of agriculture, and the best practical methods of English gardening. It will also convey practical instructions concerning the different animals in use upon a farm ; the mode of choosing, treating, and so forth, with the qualities of machines, manures, and other agricultural properties. We are happy to observe in it some hints concerning the management of those worst used and least considered animals upon a farm—the labourers. This is great promise, the question no doubt arises, how it will be fulfilled ? We think the editorship of John Donaldson, a government land-drainage surveyor, and the author of various agricultural works, is a fair guarantee for the value of the instructions, and nothing can be better or more sensible than the form in which they are offered to the public. The style is plain and clear. Each number will complete its own subject, a great advantage to those who cannot buy, or do not require the whole set. They are well got up, and the price is very low.

XXXIX.—*The Cousins*. Amusing and Instructive Lessons in the French Language. By a Lady. Parts I. and II. London : Richardson and Son.

A simple, easy introduction to French grammar, something upon the plan of the Abbé Gaultier's lessons, and which may give some useful hints to teachers.

XL.—*Elementary Catechisms upon Gardening ; Cottage Farming ; Geography ; History of England ; Sanitation*. London : Groombridge and Sons, Paternoster Row.

We suppose these to be part of a series, and it will be

one of considerable value ; a sort of cottage encyclopædia. These catechisms contain a great deal of information given in an intelligible and concise manner. Of course they vary ; a history always appears to us particularly bald when given in the catechism style, though, perhaps, as a means of exciting curiosity, or a mere dictionary of facts, it may have its use. That on Sanitation contains a superabundance of truisms, as most works upon the subject do, even those of greater pretension than the present : but those on cottage farming and gardening appear to give the results of modern improvements, in the most practical form in which we have yet seen them.

XLI.—*Tales for Young Catholics* ; by A. M. S. London : Richardson and Son.

Pretty little stories, very edifying from their Catholic feeling, but of the slightest description ; the best amongst them, under the title of "George and his Pony ; translated from the German," is—with the exception of proper names—a word for word transcript of Miss Edgeworth's "Lazy Lawrence."

XLII.—*The Creed of Christendom, its Foundations and its Superstructure*. By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREY. London : Chapman, 1851.

"Let us pray for the conversion of England." This was our first involuntary thought upon glancing through this work. Infidelity in all its snake-like forms is rearing high its head amongst us. The Catholic Church alone can make head against it. Will God so enlarge and fortify as to enable her to do so *here*, or will He refuse this blessing to a land that has so long rejected her? It is not long since we gave another, and a last sigh, to the fate of Miss Martineau, whose admirable talents have served her no better than to lead her into that abyss of atheism upon whose brink she had long been wandering. And now we chance upon the work of a man of education and ability, of whose *natural* good qualities we should be inclined to believe well, who with an assumption of martyrdom and love of truth, constitutes himself the champion of infidelity, decked out in all the gloss of the most pernicious of German fancies. Mr. Grey says : "I was compelled to see that there is scarcely a low and dishonouring conception of God current among men, scarcely a narrow and malignant

passion of the human heart, scarcely a moral obliquity, scarcely a political error or misdeed, which Biblical texts are not, and may not be, without any violence to their obvious signification, adduced to countenance and justify." Hear, Oh ye conscientious and zealous Protestants, the effect of "Bible without note or comment," or reconciling authority, upon many a clear head, and even upon many a well disposed heart! Hear, too, the admission of this our common antagonist: "All who have come much into contact with the minds of children or of the uneducated classes, are fully aware how unfitted to their mental condition are the more wide, Catholic, and comprehensive views of religion, which yet we hold to be the true ones, and how essential it is to them to have a well-defined, positive, somewhat dogmatic, and above all, a divinely attested and *authoritative* creed, deriving its sanctions from without. Such are best dealt with by narrow, decided, and undoubting minds."

We have no desire to follow out the specious falsehoods of this wicked book; but we think the time is not far off when the Church of Christ will have to bend her most strenuous energies against such men as these; and when all who value the great dogmas of Christianity will be too thankful to range themselves upon her side, and *not* against her.

XLIII.—*Plea for "Romanizers" (so called) in the Anglican Communion.*
A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, by the REV. ARTHUR BAKER, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford. London: Masters, 1850.

This good man still entertains visions of child-like loyalty and obedience to his spiritual superiors, of guidance and help to be received from them. He pleads with them earnestly for the doctrines and usages of antiquity,—still more earnestly for an approximation to that Catholic union which, he says, "is necessary for the maintenance of truth." No one can question the sincerity of his longings, and of his self-delusions; and we should deeply compassionate him for the rough hard shocks which must awaken him, did we not know that this awakening, if it please God to send it, will be to truth, and all the joys she brings with her.

- XLIV.—1. *A Handbook of Roman Antiquities*. By Dr. E. F. BOJESSEN. Translated from the German version of Dr. Hoffa, by the Rev. R. B. PAUL. Edited by the Rev. T. K. ARNOLD, M. A. London: Rivingtons, 1848.
2. *A Handbook of Grecian Antiquities*. By Dr. E. F. BOJESSEN. Translated by the Rev. R. B. PAUL. London: Rivingtons, 1848.
3. *The Athenian Stage*. By AUGUSTUS WITSCHER. Translated by the Rev. R. B. PAUL. London: Rivingtons, 1850.
4. *Handbook of Ancient Geography and History*. By WILHELM PUTZ. Translated by the Rev. R. B. PAUL. London: Rivingtons, 1849.
5. *Handbook of Mediæval Geography and History*. By WILHELM PUTZ. London: Rivingtons, 1849.
6. *Handbook of Modern Geography and History*. By WILHELM PUTZ. London: Rivingtons, 1850.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to the excellent manuals enumerated in the above Catalogue. If there be any department of learning in which a German is especially fitted to labour usefully and well, it is in digesting and methodizing the results of the investigations of others. The very necessities of such a task form the best security against his indulging unduly in that tendency to speculation, which is the besetting sin of German enquirers; and the singularly patient and laborious habits for which the German literati have been so long distinguished, form the very best qualification for the more minute and delicate details of the undertaking.

There is no branch of German literature in which this is more apparent, than in the numberless Handbooks which the last thirty years have produced in Germany in every possible department of science, literature, and art. Combining brevity of manner with exceeding copiousness of detail; uniting the most accurate and profound learning with an unpretending simplicity which it is impossible not to admire; and above all, arranged for the most part in an order which not only facilitates the study of the subject, but supplies the best security for its being permanently impressed upon the memory; the German Handbooks may seem almost to realize the ideal of true text-books for the use of a student, who desires to learn a subject accurately, to master it easily, and to retain it permanently and well.

All this is especially true of the Handbooks now before us. We should add, however, that those of Greek and Roman Antiquities, are only German by adoption; the

originals having been composed by Dr. Bojesen, professor of Greek in the University of Soro.

The leading characteristic of these Handbooks is their exceeding simplicity, the excellent order with which they are arranged, the completeness of their details, and the remarkable accuracy and elaborate erudition which they exhibit in every page. They have this further advantage, which it is impossible to over-estimate;—that they bring down their respective subjects to the very latest period, and present us with the results of the most recent investigations of the critics and antiquarians by whom they have been discussed. There is a tone of gravity and sober coolness, too, pervading them all, which contrasts very strikingly with the exaggerated extremes, to which many of the very authors, to whose labours the Handbooks are mainly indebted, have carried their own peculiar theories. Perhaps the best means of illustrating these observations may be to transcribe a passage taken at random from one of the volumes themselves. The following paragraphs, illustrating the social usages of the Athenians—the *Relations of the family at Athens*, will be read with interest.

"Sec. 2. *Marriage*.—The only forbidden degrees were those of parents and children, and of brothers and sisters by the same mother. It was required that every marriage should be preceded by a betrothal (ἐγγύησις), with consent of the nearest male relatives, or guardian (κύριος) of the maiden, otherwise it was not fully legitimate, and did not entitle the parties to all the privileges of lawful matrimony, *e. g.* the *jura agnationis* (ἀγχιστεία), which only belonged to children begotten in marriage in every respect regular (γνήσιοι, ὁρῶνς γεγενημένοι). A man was permitted to have only one wife, but concubinage was not forbidden.* The marriage was sanctioned by a sacrificial meal, given to the members of the bridegroom's Phratría, into which the bride was now received. The dowry was generally given by the father or κύριος of the bride; the husband had only the usufruct, and was obliged to give security, that, in the event of death or separation, the woman or her kindred should receive it back. The husband might divorce his wife (ἐκπέμπειν), but in that case must either restore her the dowry, or pay her the interest of it, and provide sufficiently for her maintenance. If both parties agreed to the separation, nothing further was requisite; but in the event of the wife wishing to leave (ἀπολείπειν) her husband, it was necessary for her to lodge a complaint before the Archon. The next of kin could claim, in virtue of his relationship,

* In later times connexions with ἐταῖραι had a fatal effect upon the domestic life of the Athenians.

the hand of an heiress or daughter left without brothers (*ἐπίκληρος*), even although she were married before the death of the testator ; but on the other hand he was also compelled by law to marry even a poor *Epiclēros*, or give her a dowry on her marriage with another. These *ἐπίκληροι* were protected by the law from ill-treatment (*κάκωσις*) on the part of their husbands.

"Sec. 3. *Parental Authority. Adoption. Guardianship.*—The authority of the father and its consequent privileges were dependent on the full legality of the marriage, in virtue of which the son's name was enrolled in the register of his father's *Phratría*. The father had the right of exposing his children, and of expelling or repudiating (*ἀποκηρύττειν*) his sons, if they deserved it. He was bound to teach his son a trade, and the son on his part was required in return to support his aged parents. Adoption (*εἰσποίησις*) was generally employed as a means of obtaining an heir : sometimes it was viewed in the light of a duty undertaken for the purpose of keeping up the family and its *sacra*. It was always, however, subject to the condition, that there were no sons, and that if there were daughters, one of them should marry the adopted person, provided he were an Attic citizen. The adopted son could not return to his original family, unless he left an heir of his body in that which had adopted him. Guardianship was under the superintendence of the state. By law the term "infant" or "minor" was applied not only to persons under age, who had either their father as their natural guardian (*κύριος*), or other *ἐπίτροποι*, but also to women, who could not engage in any matter of importance without the consent of those under whose *manus* or *poteestas* they were placed. The legal majority seems to have been attained on the completion of the eighteenth year, when the youth was admitted among the *Ephēbi*. Guardians, although in most cases those on whom relationship imposed that duty, might also be appointed by will. The guardianship of the *Epiclēri*, and the management of property belonging to minors, were subject to the control of the Archon.

"Sec. 4. *Right of inheritance, and of making a Will.* None but children begotten in regular marriage were entitled to the property of their parents ; consequently *νόθοι* were excluded from this privilege, and could only claim a sum amounting at most to one thousand drachmæ. The same rule applied to adopted children : blood relationship, as a ground of claim to inheritance, is called *ἀγχιστεία*, and comprehended not only children, but collateral relations (by *συγγένεια*, in opposition to alliance by marriage, which conferred no such right). Sons who had been disinherited on insufficient grounds might appeal. The children of one who at the time of his death was *ἄτιμος* on account of debt to the state, inherited the *ἄτιμία* and the obligations of their father. All the sons inherited equally, the daughters merely received a portion. In default of sons, the daughters inherited (*ἐπικληροί*). With regard to collateral relations, it was the Attic law, in cases of intestacy, that the males

should inherit in preference to females, even although the latter were more nearly related to the deceased. When there were neither natural nor adopted heirs, the inheritance fell to a member of the same Phyle, except in the case of resident aliens (μέτοικοι), whose property under those circumstances lapsed to the state. Every free citizen had the right of making a will (διαθήκη), with the exception of the δημοποιητοί [88, c], adopted sons, and a few others. Wills however were invalid, where there were heirs of the body not disqualified by law; but if they were only daughters, a stranger might inherit, subject to the condition of marrying one of them. In all cases, legacies (ἐσπερίαι) might be left, provided the estate and the rights of the natural heirs were not injured. None but citizens (including δημοποιητοί) could inherit property. Great importance was attached by the state to the subject of inheritances, the attention of the people being drawn to it at every ἐκκλησία κενρία. The ground of this strictness seems to have been principally a religious fear, lest any house should become entirely extinct."—pp. 71-74.

The volume on *Roman Antiquities* is in many respects even more complete; and it has this additional advantage, that it treats separately the Antiquities of the Consulate, and those of the Empire. The neglect of this distinction in many of our popular compilations, tends to create confusion, and to extreme inaccuracy.

Pütz's Handbooks of History are compiled with great care, and arranged in an easy and excellent order. "The Mediæval History," and "Modern History," are not free from serious inaccuracies, as regards Catholic principles, and Catholic History. Perhaps it would be impossible to expect that they should be otherwise, coming from the pen of a Protestant compiler. But we are not without hope that a Catholic editor may be induced to turn his attention to the expurgation of these blemishes; and of the substance of the history itself, with a very few drawbacks, we may speak in terms of the highest commendation.

XLV.—*Lewis Arundel, or the Railroad of Life*, by FRANK FAIRLEIGH.

A spirited, amusing, and original novel;—a great desideratum in these days, when they come out but slowly. *Lewis Arundel* is in parts, with all the allurements of frontispiece and illustration to which the public have been accustomed. But really it stands in no need of them. There are decided originality, style, simplicity, and lightness. The nine numbers which have appeared, contain passages which are really affecting, with a great

deal of genuine pleasantry and fun. Should they continue as good as they promise to be, we will endeavour to interest our readers in this very agreeable publication.

XLVI.—*The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God*; taken from the traditions of the East, the manners of the Israelites, and the writings of the Holy Fathers. By Mons. L'Abbé ORSINI: translated by the Rev. PATRICK POWER. Dublin, 1850.

This is a work of European reputation; it has gone through several editions, received the highest testimonials of approbation from authorised judges; and from its wide circulation, has obtained proof of popular admiration. Such a work cannot fail to be an acquisition; and it is so well translated, that the English public lose but little of the beauty of a stately and graceful style of writing. Were we to confess a feeling of disappointment, it would be in all humility, and with the full consciousness that the difficulty of doing justice to such a subject, makes criticism almost a presumption. Since, however, we cannot deny such a feeling, we will give the reasons for the objections which we venture to make. In the earlier part of the life of our Lady, every detail is given with exceeding minuteness; the dress, the daily occupations of the holy Recluse of the Temple; the circumstances of her espousals, the interior of her domestic life, are described with a vivid exactness to which the mind yields willing credence, supported as it is by the author's profound knowledge of the Eastern customs of those days, and of tradition. The details are based upon the traditions of the Jewish Patriarchs, and Christian Fathers; and the literature of the East has been searched for scattered rays of light, whereby to illustrate them. It is certain that after all this wealth of fancy, we feel a proportionate disappointment at the meagreness which ensues at the very period when our Blessed Lady's life becomes most deeply interesting to the wayworn Christian who invokes her as his "Help" to the afflicted, of whom she is the "Comforter." During that period when, foreshadowing as it were the peculiar virtues of the conventional life, she was nevertheless drawn forth into the world by such intense interests, tradition would seem, if we must believe the lives that have been written, to have forsaken us. Yet there are in the Church traditions which, although not of faith, must have had some substantial foundation. We have heard it stated that our Lord, before

His passion, went to His mother, to obtain her blessing and *sanction* upon His work; than which, perhaps, no Christian mind ever entertained a more astounding estimate of the greatness of Mary; but yet, not an incredible estimate to those who believe that, as God, He might require of the representative of Eve this sacrifice, and as Man, might thus consummate His example of obedience to this earthly parent, who herself set the example of perfect conformity to the Divine Will. Many things have been communicated through revelations to the saints, which the Church has not feared to accept for the purposes of edification.* In a discourse upon the Passion, based upon such authority, it was said, that when our Lady entered upon the scene of the Passion, under Divine guidance, she tracked Her Son through His most cruel agonies—giving the first example of the Stations of the Cross—before she permitted herself the agonizing indulgence of rejoining Him upon the road to Calvary. Still more consonant to probability and human feeling is the opinion so exquisitely expressed in an Oratorian hymn, that our Lord appeared *first*, and in that privacy in which it was His pleasure to veil their domestic intercourse, to His Mother. Whereas the Abbé Orsini represents her as the Mary to whom He came disguised as a gardener, and who addressed to Him those words of earnest love, but of imperfect faith: “Sir, if thou hast taken Him away, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away.” We cannot but regret the absence of these beautiful ideas; we cannot but desire some life of our Blessed Lady, in which the pious traditions and revelations that have been accepted in the later ages of the Church, should be collected and arranged with the care, the elegance, and the acumen that the Abbé Orsini has exercised upon those of a former period.

XLVII.—*Letters to a Russian Gentleman on the Spanish Inquisition*, by the COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Translated by the Rev. Æneas Mc. D. Dawson. London: Dolman.

These letters are written in a spirit of good faith and sincerity, and with a boundless reliance on “Holy Mother Church,” which will be at once grateful and convincing to the Catholic heart. To say that they have made us in

* F. Faber at the Oratory.

love with the Inquisition, would be by no means true; neither can this be justly called an accurate examination and refutation of the charges against that institution. The author has, however, brought forward facts, proving, that the Inquisition was a tribunal chiefly composed of civilians, and always under the controul and management of the civil power, and that thus, as has been innumerable times alleged, the *Church* was not responsible for its worst evils; and he has shewn that those evils have been grossly, absurdly, exaggerated.

XLVIII.—*The Signs of the Times*, or the Popery of Protestantism. London: Gibbs, 1851.

We know not who is the author of this pamphlet, to us chiefly remarkable for the boldness of its crushing attack upon the Bishop of London. By no means inclined to look upon Catholics with an eye of favour, the author, nevertheless, puts the very pertinent question, "Is the church of England herself in a position to hurl anathemas at ambitious Rome?" And to this he answers by such a detail of her divisions and the misdoings of her Bishops, as makes us—poor enslaved benighted Catholics—hold up our hands in dismay. How could we tolerate the oppression, the double dealing, the haughty uncharitableness, of which so many cases are here satisfactorily made out? Let us be thankful, amidst the insults and wrongs inflicted and threatened upon us, that we are safe, at least, from one;—the state cannot inflict upon us a "Charles James London."

XLIX.—*The Naturalist*, a popular Monthly Magazine, illustrative of the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral kingdoms, with numerous engravings. Conducted by BEVERLEY R. MORRIS, Esq., A.B., M.D., T.C.D. London: Groombridge and Sons.

So far as we can judge from a first number, we should say this work was likely to deserve its title of "popular." However strongly the introduction may recommend the study of Natural History, the work, so far, does not promise much science or regularity of plan. We are ashamed to admit that we like it all the better, for it contains some curious and amusing particularities of the animal creation, familiarly described, in which we, and perhaps there are others who may agree with us, take greater delight than in their scientific classification.